

U.S. Shifting Forces As Pact With Manila Nears Expiration

By Michael Richardson

SINGAPORE—A phaseout of American military bases in the Philippines is now widely anticipated by Asian and Western officials, and the United States has begun relocating some of its forces and facilities there to Japan, Singapore and other countries in the region.

The redeployments are intended to make it easier for the government of President Corason C. Aquino in Manila to overcome strong domestic political opposition to an extension of the U.S. military presence in the Philippines beyond 1991, analysts say.

However, they also say that the redeployments are part of a wider reworking of security arrangements linking the United States and non-Communist nations in the Western Pacific that will continue regardless of the outcome of negotiations on the future of the bases due to start later this year.

Western officials say a squadron of U.S. Air Force F-16 fighters and a unit of C-130 transport aircraft recently moved from Clark Air Base in the Philippines to Japan.

In addition, the navy has announced that it will shift an aircraft carrier communication unit from Subic Bay in the Philippines to the American naval base at Yokosuka near Tokyo before the end of the year.

"What we are seeing is the evolution of a more complex and subtle web of security relations between the United States and its allies and friends in the Asian-Pacific theater," a Western analyst based in Singapore said Monday.

He added that while the United States would remain the ultimate guarantor of security in an interlocking network of defense cooperation arrangements, regional countries would henceforth play a more prominent role in line with their growing economic strength and modernization of their armed forces.

Singapore last month announced

that it was ready to provide increased facilities to American forces to keep the United States in the region as an effective counter to the Soviet Union and other military powers.

Wong Kan Seng, Singapore's foreign minister, said that if cuts in U.S. military spending caused a sudden American military withdrawal from Southeast Asia, "other major powers waiting on the sidelines"—Japan, China and India—could fill the vacuum.

Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad of Malaysia said his country was also prepared to provide services, but not bases, to U.S. forces.

While some officials and politicians in Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines objected to Singapore's offer, the heads of government of those countries either welcomed the move or said they had no objection to it.

In an interview with the Bangkok Post that was published here Monday, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore said that the purpose of Singapore's offer was "to make it easier for the Philippines to continue to host the U.S. bases, not to have these bases move to Singapore."

U.S. military officials in the Philippines contend that the transfer of some American units to Japan has no connection with growing doubts about the future of the U.S. basing agreement in the Philippines, which ends in 1991.

But analysts said that the moves were part of a significant restructuring of security arrangements linking the United States, its allies and other non-Communist countries in the Western Pacific.

Feliciano Gacis, the Philippine undersecretary for defense, told a Senate hearing in Manila last week that the Defense Department wanted to see a phase-out of U.S. military bases over a period of five to 10 years.

Any new bases agreement must be ratified by two-thirds of the 23-

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United Flight 232: 'We'll Lose It'

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON—The captain of the United Airlines DC-10 that crashed in Iowa in July, killing 112 people, called for the throttles to be closed 15 seconds before impact, but another pilot said, "I can't pull 'em off or we'll lose it."

The National Transportation Safety Board made public on Monday a transcript of the final 33 minutes 34 seconds of conversation in the cockpit of Flight 232. There were 184 survivors of the July 19 crash. The airliner's tail engine had failed, apparently shooting debris that cut off the plane's hydraulic control system, and the crew was trying to make an emergency landing.

All four men in the cockpit were among the survivors: the captain, Alfred C. Haynes, 57; the first officer, William R. Records, 48; the flight engineer, Dudley Dvorak, 51; and Dennis Fitch, 46, a United Airlines check pilot who was observing the flight as a passenger but

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Behind Bars: Refugees Around the World

Vietnamese refugees in Hong Kong, above, peering at a British official responsible for the colony during a visit on Monday, and East German refugees, below, speaking with reporters at the West German Embassy in Warsaw. In Hong Kong, the British official, Francis Maude, said the refugees had no alternative but to go home (Page 6). In Warsaw, the refugees vowed to stay, and there were reports of harassment of refugees by East Germany and Czechoslovakia (Page 2).



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Hurricane Kills 10 In Caribbean Sweep

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico—The Caribbean's strongest hurricane in a decade surged toward the Bahamas on Monday after lashing Puerto Rico and battering the U.S. Virgin Islands and other tourist areas, killing at least 10 people and leaving thousands homeless.

The National Weather Service said the hurricane, designated Hugo, had hit the eastern tip of Puerto Rico and skirted the northern coast, packing winds of 125 miles an hour (200 kilometers an hour) and 6-foot (2-meter) tidal surges. Forecasters expected up to 15 inches (about 40 centimeters) of rain and flooding and mudslides.

Five people died on Guadeloupe while at least four were killed in Montserrat. At least one person died in Puerto Rico. Unconfirmed reports indicated three more deaths in Puerto Rico and two in Montserrat.

The hurricane's winds overturned cars and stripped roofs off of houses and office buildings and sent chunks of concrete plunging into streets in San Juan, where one-third of the U.S. commonwealth's 3.3 million people live. Fifty airplanes were reported destroyed at the airport in Isla Verde.

The hurricane cut power and disrupted international communications to the island. Looting was reported, and there were police pa-

trols downtown to prevent mobs from breaking into stores.

High winds on Sunday blew roofs off six houses to the offshore island of Culebra.

Residents of hilly areas of Puerto Rico where flash floods are a danger were urged to evacuate, and a Social Services secretary said 11,300 people had been moved from flood-prone coastal areas to rescue shelters.

"The big problem in Puerto Rico is the flash floods and the mudslides that occur there," the U.S. Hurricane Center's director, Bob Sheets, said in Miami.

The Port Authority said cruise ships scheduled to arrive in San Juan had been rerouted elsewhere.

The government of the Bahamas issued a hurricane warning for the southern Bahamas and the Turks and Caicos islands. Authorities said they had evacuated hundreds of families in the Dominican Republic.

It was too early to tell whether the hurricane would strike the U.S. mainland. A hurricane center spokesman said the storm was expected to be off the southeastern Bahamas by Wednesday.

It was the most powerful hurricane to hit the region since a hurricane designated David killed up to 1,200 people in 1979.

On Sunday, the hurricane moved

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Moscow in an Uproar: What Did Yeltsin Do?

By Michael Dobbs

Washington Post Service

MOSCOW—Boris N. Yeltsin, the maverick former chief of the Communist Party in Moscow, returned to a political storm Monday after he was accused of drunkenness in media reports describing his visit to the United States.

A single topic dominated in the Soviet capital: Mr. Yeltsin's drinking and shopping habits.

The latest twist to the saga of the disgraced Politburo member turned popular hero came with allegations Monday in the Communist Party newspaper Pravda that Mr. Yeltsin went on a drinking and spending spree while in the United States. The charges were contained in an article published Thursday by La Repubblica, a Rome daily, and reprinted in full by Pravda.

The article depicted Mr. Yeltsin, who won a landslide election victory in March after campaigning against Communist Party privilege, as a hypocritical drunkard. It said that he had spent much of the money raised in lecture fees—funds that he promised to turn over to a Soviet AIDS foundation—on video equipment and other purchases.

"For Yeltsin, America is a holiday, a stage set, a bar 5,000 kilometers long," Pravda quoted the Washington correspondent of La Repubblica, Vittorio Zucconi, as writing. "And for America, Yeltsin is a wonderful new toy, a doll with a typical Russian face that says things no Russian ever said before."

Mr. Yeltsin denied the allegations when he returned to Moscow on Monday ahead of the opening Tuesday of a Communist Party Central Committee plenum. The Associated Press reported.

"It's a simple lie, slander, and revenge for the fact that Americans received us with admiration," he said.

The fact that the allegations appeared first in a Western newspaper makes them potentially much more damaging to Mr. Yeltsin than if they had simply been made by Pravda, which is widely mistrusted

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Deng Proposes Party Chief as Successor

By Sheryl WuDunn

New York Times Service

BEIJING—Deng Xiaoping has proposed that the Communist Party general secretary, Jiang Zemin, be his heir as China's paramount leader, according to a confidential report of two "informal talks" between Mr. Deng and other senior officials.

In a conversation June 16 with eight other leaders, Mr. Deng said

that Mao had been the "core" of the first generation of Communist leaders, and that he himself had been the core of the second generation of leaders. He added that Mr. Jiang, 63, was the core of the next generation.

"We must consciously defend the core, which now is none other than comrade Jiang Zemin, everyone's comrade," Mr. Deng said, according to a report on his comments made available by an official

with no particular ties to Mr. Jiang. The contents of the talks were confirmed by two other Chinese who were familiar with the remarks.

Mr. Jiang, who was the party chief in Shanghai, was named June 24 to succeed the general secretary Zhao Ziyang following the June 3-4 crackdown on the democracy movement.

Mr. Deng, 85, is said to have

called on other officials to rally around Mr. Jiang and avoid fighting over power. He also suggested that he would step down from his only official post, chairman of the Central Military Commission.

In announcing Mr. Jiang, Mr. Deng hopes to hand over power to a more mainstream leader instead of a hard-liner like Prime Minister

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Chiseling Away at a Soviet Symbol

Moscow Art Show Will Omit the Omnipresent Sculpture of Lenin

By Francis X. Clines

New York Times Service

MOSCOW—For decades, Lenin's mysterious power in stone and bronze has gripped the Soviet Union—his sculpted glare beaming condorlike from every village pedestal, his granite hand held in visionary gesture even as communism's future clouded over.

But now the chief arbiters of Soviet art are planning a major sculpture show that will prove remarkable if only because they have decided that it is finally safe to omit Lenin's sculpted figure as the mandatory national icon.

The grand lobby of the All-Union Sculpture Exhibition of 1991, now being planned as a censorship-free extravaganza of the best new Soviet works, will not have any Lenin statue overseeing it, the rarest of novements in the annals of Soviet public meetings.

President Mikhail S. Gorbachev does not run sessions of the newly outspoken legislature without a giant statue of Lenin looking over his shoulder. The lowest classroom has Lenin's stare watching the young ones from a corner nook.

"We cannot carry away our past too easily," said one of the show's chief planners, Yuri G. Orekhov, sculpture chairman of the Artists Union's Monument Council, which oversees such art across the country. "On the other hand, we mustn't pray to him."

The best sculptors, Mr. Orekhov said, know that the long era of monumental propaganda decreed by Lenin has been obsolescent, even if Philistine tastes lag behind. "It's not just that Lenin is discredited," said the 62-year-old sculptor, slipping bravely in his bright and dusty studio. "When there is too much of anything, the situation becomes degrading."

Savoring the contradiction of how the atheism of the Bolshevik Revolution left

"When there is too much of anything, the situation becomes degrading."

Yuri G. Orekhov, sculpture chairman of the Artists Union's Monument Council

Lenin the founder to serve as a substitute object of mass worship, Mr. Orekhov said, "Life requires icons, and when religion was abolished Lenin himself came to fill this role."

It is possible for good art to come from any repetitious or vainglorious subject, he added, even a "good Stalin" that he knows of, stashed in a Moscow warehouse. But the odds grow long, and there is already plenty of Lenin to go around.

"The same thing happened to George Washington," he said, recalling a visit to the United States in which he found the first president uncannily abused by second-rate sculptors.

"I did my last Lenin four or five years ago, and I knew right at that moment it was my last," said the sculptor, whose 10-piece Lenin-less idealization of Soviet society, done in Carrara marble, helped bring him the ultimate Soviet accolade—needless to say, the Lenin Prize.

The naked lobby of the Soviet sculpture show will be an aesthetic statement for a country that, for all the flourish with iconoclasm of the Gorbachev era, still halts uneasily at demystifying Lenin.

When a theater director suggested last spring that it was time to remove Lenin's body from the tackiness of endless manson-leum display and submit it to the mercuries of the earth, party officials erupted with talk of sacrilege. For all his populist bravado, even the Communist Party maverick Boris N. Yeltsin registered revulsion at the thought.

In private, Russians relish such stories as that of a Lenin statue that was accidentally decapitated on the eve of its unveiling.

The sculptor worked through the night installing a replacement head. When he heard the crowd's laughter the next day, he looked and saw that Lenin was holding a cap in one hand and wearing another on his substitute head.



Peace Fever Breaks Out Among South Africans

By William Claiborne

Washington Post Service

JOHANNESBURG—Peace fever is breaking out all over South Africa, after five years of bitter racial conflict that has left 4,000 people—mostly blacks—dead in riots and street battles with the police and army troops.

In Grahamstown, policemen hand out fresh flowers to anti-government demonstrators who just a week before might have been tear-gassed or whipped. In Cape Town, a traffic officer smiles benignly from his motorcycle as placard-waving students walk by wearing T-shirts proclaiming "The People Shall Govern," a reference to protesters splattered with purple dye by powerful police water cannon.

And in Johannesburg, street-toughened youths from Soweto led by Bishop Peter Storey, a white Methodist, stand undisturbed under the windows of the notorious seventh-floor interrogation wing of security police headquarters and intone a prayer for peace.

"Pretoria strikes," the South African press has dubbed the new nonviolent atmosphere, which was engendered in a simple sentence uttered by President-elect Frederik W. de Klerk on Tuesday.

The government has no objec-

tion to peaceful and orderly protest, provided proper cognizance is taken of the laws of our country," Mr. de Klerk declared to a startled audience of journalists who had become inured to the inevitability of exploding tear-gas canisters, snarling police dogs and blasts of birdshot at almost any demonstration of political dissent they covered.

With his turnaround—a personal and political gamble that could

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have enormous consequences for the future of South Africa—Mr. de Klerk effectively suspended scores of clauses and subclauses of the voluminous emergency regulations that since June 12, 1986, have made it illegal for more than two people to gather to express opposition to the government.

Suddenly, it was legal for thousands of blacks to march through white shopping districts chanting banned revolutionary slogans, carrying the flag of the outlawed African National Congress and even the hammer-and-sickle flag of the exiled South African Communist Party.

Overnight, blacks who were used

See PRETORIA, Page 7

Kiosk

Japanese Move Into U.S. Banks

NEW YORK (Reuters)—In an aggressive push into the United States, two major Japanese banks on Monday announced deals to buy into U.S. banking operations.

Daiwa Bank Ltd. is buying the U.S. commercial-bank business of Lloyds Bank PLC for \$1.6 billion, while Dai-ichi Kangyo Bank Ltd. is paying between \$1.25 to \$1.3 billion for stakes in Manufacturers Hanover Corp. and a subsidiary. (Page 11)

General News

U.S. foreign policymakers seek local answers to regional conflicts. Page 2.

If Vietnam leaves Cambodia next week as promised, the event may carry vast regional implications. Page 6.

Too much money is disrupting life in Alaskan villages after the March oil spill. Page 3.

Beirut's battered refugees stop first in Cyprus on their way to anywhere. Page 5.

Business/Finance

Two European banks said legalities largely accounted for their failure to complete a merger plan. Page 11.

Argentina's stock market is blossoming under the new administration. Page 11.

Weather

Crisisword. Page 10.

Bow Close

The Dollar in New York:
DM 1.9515
Pound 1.5705
Yen 146.75
FF 6.5625

New Realism: U.S. Seeks Local Answers to Regional Conflicts

By David B. Ottaway

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration has been backing the Arab League in its quest for a cease-fire in Lebanon. And the administration has been encouraging President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt to take the lead in getting direct Palestinian-Israeli talks under way.

These initiatives exemplify the White House's new approach to resolving regional conflicts, stressing the role of local leaders and initiatives rather than U.S.-led diplomacy.

The approach appears to reflect a new realism on the part of the administration of the limits of U.S. power in seeking to resolve the world's problems and an acknowledgment that, as Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger said Wednesday, the United States, like the Soviet Union, has crossed the finish line in the post-World War II era "very much out of breath."

As a result, Mr. Eagleburger said, both superpowers were faced with "a frankly diminished capacity to influence events," and the United States would increasingly

have to look to its allies for help in solving world problems.

The assessment of the Bush administration of its fading power appears to be reflected in its low-risk and low-profile approach to regional-conflict resolution where other actors — individuals, organi-

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zations, nations or even Congress — are being allowed, or encouraged, to take the lead.

In Lebanon, the administration resisted pressure from Lebanese Christians and France to become involved in the search for an end to the violence and political crisis there. Instead, it threw its weight behind an Arab League initiative, and when the risks to U.S. diplomats there appeared too great, it closed the embassy.

In Central America, the administration has sought to use the Organization of American States to squeeze General Antonio Manuel Noriega of Panama out of power, while it has abdicated to Congress on future U.S. policy toward Nicaragua

and the U.S.-supported Nicaraguan rebels.

In Africa, the administration is promoting President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire as the chief peacemaker in the civil war between U.S.-backed rebels and the Angolan government. And the president of Kenya was given the same role in the Mozambican conflict.

In Afghanistan, the United States is now exploring the possibility of having the former king play a leading role in the quest for a political solution.

And former President Jimmy Carter has emerged as the main catalyst in the search for an end to the 28-year-long struggle over Eritrea in northern Ethiopia.

The emerging approach toward U.S. regional diplomacy is perhaps most evident in the administration's attitude toward the Middle East peace process.

In the past few weeks, the focus of efforts to break the stalemate shifted from Washington to Cairo with the full blessings of the administration.

Mr. Mubarak has been seeking to entice the Israeli government and Palestine Liberation Organization to consider his

10-point proposal for the holding of elections for a Palestinian leadership in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

After endorsing the election plan of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel last May, administration officials are now offering similar support for Mr. Mubarak's initiative without formally endorsing any of his points.

"We continue to encourage all parties to find ways to launch an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue to discuss the Israeli election initiative," a State Department spokesman said Sept. 12. "To the extent the 10 points can be helpful in that regard, we welcome Egypt's efforts."

The statement did not mention that Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d pressed Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel on Friday to consider the Egyptian points.

It appeared that the Baker intervention led to the unusual meeting Tuesday between Mr. Shamir and his foreign minister, Moshe Arens, and the two top Labor Party leaders in the Israeli coalition government — Mr. Rabin and Finance Min-

ister Shimon Peres — to consider the Mubarak plan.

Given Mr. Shamir's strong opposition to some of Mr. Mubarak's key points, serious discussion of them by the top Israeli leadership seems something of a breakthrough for the new U.S. approach to Middle East diplomacy.

Mr. Shamir and the PLO have indicated their grave reservations about parts or all of Mr. Mubarak's proposal, and its fate remains uncertain. And it is far from clear that the U.S. effort to shift the burden of initiative from Washington to Cairo, Tunis and Tel Aviv will work.

Israeli, Palestinian and other Arab leaders still look to Washington for support of their respective positions.

But Mr. Baker's success in temporarily shifting the focus away from any U.S. initiative illustrates the administration's new diplomacy.

One State Department official said that under this approach, the United States served as the clearinghouse for ideas rather than the initiator and that it sought to determine "what the traffic will be" in the search for a way to get Israeli-Palestinian peace talks going.

WORLD BRIEFS

Bush Urges Environmental Action

HELENA, Montana (AP) — President George Bush, seeking to awaken a new spirit of environmentalism, appealed Monday to Americans to help protect the nation and unveiled plans to train Peace Corps volunteers to help protect the environment in developing countries.

Mr. Bush said at a news conference that acid rain, global warming and the destruction of Brazilian rain forests demonstrated that protecting the environment was "a global issue." Citing U.S. plans to ban ocean dumping of sewage by 1991 and to prohibit release of chlorofluorocarbons into the atmosphere by the year 2000, he said: "We can't stop there. We've got to work with the rest of the world to preserve the planet."

Responding to a question on China, Mr. Bush said it was "not time for normalcy" in relations following the crackdown on student dissent in Beijing. But he added that he hoped soon to see "proper signals" from the Chinese leadership that would lead to improved relations.

Savimbi Skips Angola Peace Meeting

KINSHASA (Reuters) — The Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi stayed away from a peace meeting in Zaire on Monday that was intended to revive the collapsed cease-fire in the Angolan civil war.

The leader of the rightist National Union for the Total Independence of Angola sent a letter saying he was too busy preparing for a meeting of the movement next week, a source close to President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire said.

But another government source said Mr. Savimbi saw no reason to attend the Zaire meeting seeking to reconcile the vast differences with President José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola. Eight central and southern African heads of state convened their meeting without Mr. Savimbi on Mr. Mobutu's yacht on the Zaire River.

Iran and France Try to Solve Dispute

NICOSIA (Reuters) — Iran and France moved closer Monday to resolving a loan dispute that soured relations for almost a decade, Tehran radio said.

The radio said that the visiting French envoy to the Middle East, François Scheer, and the deputy foreign minister of Iran, Mahmood Vaezi, agreed that the two sides were determined to settle the dispute as soon as possible. Mr. Scheer also met Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati of Iran who told him that Tehran welcomed closer ties with Paris but that financial disputes stood in the way, the radio said.

A \$1 billion loan made by Iran in 1974 to a French company has hindered efforts to establish normal ties. Iran has linked any improvement in relations with the repayment of the loan. The radio said that Mr. Scheer and Mr. Vaezi "emphasized the political resolve of the two governments to normalize and expand relations."

Argentina to Pardon 18 Military Men

BUENOS AIRES (AP) — Eighteen retired generals and admirals facing trial on charges of committing human rights abuses in the 1970s will be pardoned, President Carlos Menem has announced.

The cases of six other people, including two former presidents already convicted and sentenced, will be reviewed later, Mr. Menem said in a broadcast interview. His statement was the first firm indication of who would be included in a pardon expected to be formally announced after his return on Sept. 28 from a visit to the United States.

Sixteen retired generals and two admirals are facing trial in civilian courts on hundreds of charges, including kidnapping, torture and murder, stemming from an anti-leftist campaign by the military from 1976 to 1983.

Thatcher Sets Confrontation in Japan

LONDON (AP) — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher left Monday for Japan set for a confrontation about what she called "deliberate barriers" against imports and the entry of British companies to the Tokyo stock exchange.

"They always have explanations, and it's an excuse; it's not an explanation," Mrs. Thatcher said before leaving on the four-day visit to Japan.

She will attend a conference of leaders of right-of-center political parties from 26 nations from Sept. 21 to 23. Other delegates will include Vice President Dan Quayle of the United States and Mayor Jacques Chirac of Paris.

For the Record

Namibian policemen do not have enough evidence against the chief suspect in the murder last week of SWAPO's top white member, Anton Lubowski, according to a senior officer in Windhoek. The suspect has been identified as Donald Acheson, 50, traveling on an Irish passport. (AP)

Correction

An interview with the physicist Emilio Picasso in Monday's editions described electrons incorrectly. They are negatively charged.

TRAVEL UPDATE

Jammu and Kashmir: U.S. Warning

WASHINGTON (HT) — The State Department has advised American travelers to India that travel to Jammu and Kashmir should be postponed because of unsettled political conditions and that visitors to Punjab should avoid bus or train travel because of sporadic violence, including bombing of transportation.

The department said several areas may now require special travel permits or particular caution. These are outlined in travel advisories available from U.S. embassies and missions.

Mountain climbers should stay away from a disputed area of the Karakoram Range where Indian and Pakistani military forces have clashed occasionally, it said.

U.S. Planes Help Australian Carriers

SYDNEY (AP) — Two chartered U.S. aircraft began operations across Australia on Monday, and the two major domestic carriers estimated that, with the help of the air force and foreign planes, they were now running at more than 25 percent of normal capacity despite the devalued pay dispute with their pilots.

In Canberra, cabinet ministers met on Monday to discuss the dispute, which has crippled Australia's tourist industry, costing it about \$35 million Australian dollars (\$27 million) a day. The airlines have refused to negotiate with the Australian Federation of Airline Pilots since 1,645 pilots quit their jobs Aug. 24 to demand more pay.

West German truck drivers joined a protest against Austria's plans to ban overnight truck traffic by blocking a border crossing Monday. Police near the Bavarian town of Lindau said about 15 trucks were blocking the frontier with Austria. Up to 20,000 trucks have blocked the Italian-Austrian crossing at the Brenner Pass for the past six days. (Reuters)

WEATHER

EUROPE				ASIA			
	HIGH	LOW			HIGH	LOW	
Amsterdam	52	42	F	Bangkok	82	72	F
Athens	62	52	F	Beijing	72	62	F
Berlin	52	42	F	Hong Kong	82	72	F
Bombay	72	62	F	Manila	82	72	F
Buenos Aires	72	62	F	New Delhi	82	72	F
Calcutta	72	62	F	Seoul	72	62	F
Cairo	72	62	F	Singapore	82	72	F
Canton	72	62	F	Taipei	72	62	F
Cebu	72	62	F				
Colon	72	62	F	AFRICA			
Dakar	72	62	F				
Delhi	72	62	F	Algiers	72	62	F
Denver	52	42	F	Cape Town	72	62	F
Detroit	52	42	F	Harare	72	62	F
Frankfurt	52	42	F	Lima	72	62	F
Geneva	52	42	F	Rio de Janeiro	72	62	F
Hankow	72	62	F				
Hong Kong	82	72	F	LATIN AMERICA			
Kobe	72	62	F				
London	52	42	F	Buenos Aires	72	62	F
Los Angeles	72	62	F	Caracas	72	62	F
Lyons	52	42	F	La Paz	72	62	F
Madrid	52	42	F	Santiago	72	62	F
Moscow	52	42	F				
Mumbai	72	62	F	NORTH AMERICA			
Nairobi	72	62	F				
Paris	52	42	F	Albuquerque	72	62	F
Perth	72	62	F	Atlanta	72	62	F
Port of Spain	72	62	F	Boston	52	42	F
San Francisco	52	42	F	Chicago	52	42	F
Singapore	82	72	F	Cleveland	52	42	F
Tokyo	72	62	F	Denver	52	42	F
				Detroit	52	42	F
				Houston	52	42	F
				Los Angeles	72	62	F
				Memphis	52	42	F
				Minneapolis	52	42	F
				New York	52	42	F
				Phoenix	72	62	F
				San Francisco	52	42	F
				Seattle	52	42	F
				Toronto	52	42	F
				Washington	52	42	F

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CARTERS IN MANAGUA — Former President Jimmy Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, meeting the congregation of a First Baptist church in the Nicaraguan capital. The former president, addressing the congregation, urged a free and fair election on Feb. 25. He will be an observer during the voting. The elections must be "clean and just so that they may bring peace to our hearts," he said.

Victim of Valdez Spill: Village Tradition

By Timothy Egan

New York Times Service

ENGLISH BAY, Alaska — Instead of hanging salmon to dry this month, as Aleut natives have done for centuries here on the tip of the Kenai Peninsula, John Kvasnikoff was putting up a \$3,000 television satellite dish on the bluff next to his home above the sea.

A few houses away, Jeff Evans, his hair painted green, chatted up the road with his new \$1,500 "Fat Cat" motorbike, portable stereo headphones over his ears. In years past, he would be storing food for the winter.

"Things have gotten really weird around here since the oil spill," said Mr. Evans, who is known as the "Native James Dean" in this hidden village of 170 people. "A lot of people are getting drunk again. There's just too much money and too much stress."

While Exxon Corp.'s \$1 billion push to clean beaches fouled by the March 24 oil spill has ended, the social and cultural disruption in villages that have existed for hundreds of years without radical interruption is just being seen.

The modern world had been closing in on English Bay and other native villages, but with glacial slowness. The oil spill and the resulting sea of money have accelerated the process, so that English Bay now seems caught on the cusp of history.

A visitor has the sense that much of the village's traditional way of life is fading forever with the last days of summer.

Food to get the people through

the winter was donated by other native villages, with the cost underwritten by Exxon. But it is not clear what next season will bring: biologists do not know when the people will be able to harvest fish, seals and shellfish as they did before.

Oil from the 11-million-gallon spill and money from the Exxon corporate coffers has changed life, for better or worse, in half a dozen villages where people had been living comfortably off nothing more than the land and the sea.

The cleanup that brought money did not create any permanent jobs. If the villagers cannot harvest the sea, they may have to seek work in the cities, once their savings dry up. Those who choose to remain in the villages may end up on welfare.

Binge drinking of alcohol, a consistent problem in native communities, has risen dramatically in some hamlets where it was thought to have been conquered.

Emergencies brought about by mental and emotional distress have tripled in native villages on Kodiak Island, health officials say.

"Ever since summer, when we couldn't gather our food because of the oil, there's been a lot of alcohol and drugs, and stress," said Roy Evans, the village public safety officer. "People here are fishermen. They weren't educated to be oil cleaners."

Money earned cleaning up oil has made life here easier but, many natives say, not better.

"We are starting to see — what do you call them? — couch potatoes," said Vincent Kvasnikoff, the chief of English Bay.

Cut off from the rest of the world by a fortress of glaciers, active volcanoes and the big moat of Cook Inlet, English Bay appears at first glance to be a sort of Alaskan version of Shangri-la. Five crystal clear lakes, surrounded by walls of virgin spruce forests, drain the mountains above town.

There are no roads in and out of English Bay, which the Russians stumbled upon in the 1740s. They built a fort and converted the people to the Russian Orthodox Church, the only religion still practiced by most villagers in their blue onion-domed house of worship.

Only six people have full-time jobs, including three in the school. Before the spill, everybody else in English Bay lived off the bounty of the sea: seals, salmon, halibut, shellfish, octopuses, seaweed, barnacles and snails.

They also picked berries in the late summer and hunted for moose, deer and bear. Before the cleanup, the only money that came into the village was from sales of surplus salmon at the end of the season.

Most of Alaska's 65,000 native people — the major ethnic groups are Eskimos in the North, Indians in the interior and Aleuts along the southern coast — do not live off subsistence hunting and harvesting. But in villages like English Bay it has been the entire economy.

Until this summer, when nine satellite dishes were bought by villagers flush with Exxon cleanup money, the only thing rising above houses was the blue curl of smoke from wood stoves.

Three weeks after the grounding of the tanker Exxon Valdez, oil washed ashore on sandy beaches in English Bay, more than 200 miles (325 kilometers) from the accident site.

After oil was found in the eggs of salmon and on shellfish plucked from the bay, villagers decided not to harvest their traditional food.

"The whole bay looked sick," said Mr. Kvasnikoff, the village chief, who has a mixed Russian-Aleut heritage. "It came in as sheen, and then tar balls."

It was the first time in living memory that the villagers had not spent the summer collecting food. "It's something I learned as a kid," said Roy Evans, "when every day at low tide my stepfather would say, 'Go out there and pick up everything that you can — that's our next meal.'"

The summer harvests brought food and social harmony to English Bay, villagers say.

"The men would be gone hunting or fishing, and the women would gather snails and seaweed, and we would all get very close," said Nancy Yeaton, who moved back to English Bay 12 years ago after living in New Hampshire.

By early summer this year, everyone in the village above the age of 18 was working for Exxon at wages of at least \$16.69 an hour.

"It was like a typhoon came in and emptied out the village," Ms. Yeaton said. "Everything changed overnight. We gained a lot of money, but we lost a lot of family closeness and our own food."

El Salvador Rebels Ask U.S. Trade-Off

By Larry Rohter

New York Times Service

MEXICO CITY — The senior military commander of El Salvador's guerrilla insurgency says his forces are willing to "cease hostilities" if the United States halts military aid to the country's rightist government.

"There is no doubt that if this aid ended, the fighting would have to end immediately," said the commander, Joaquín Villalobos, the chief military strategist of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.

"To a gesture of this scope, our response would have to be immediate," he said in the interview Sunday.

Asked if that response meant discontinuing all fighting, he answered "yes."

Washington is almost certain to reject such an offer.

More than 70,000 people have been killed and a million have been forced into flight or into exile as a result of a decade of civil war in El Salvador.

The United States has sent more than \$1 billion in military aid to El Salvador in the last decade, and \$2 billion more in economic assistance.

Mr. Villalobos spoke five days after the guerrilla front announced a detailed peace proposal here aimed at bringing about a ceasefire in the war by Nov. 15 and a permanent end to hostilities by Jan. 31, 1990. The plan will be discussed

in future negotiations with representatives of the Salvadoran president, Alfredo Cristiani.

The two sides held talks here last week.

But the rebel commander was careful to separate his suggestion of a trade-off with the United States from longstanding Salvadoran government demands that the guerrillas lay down their arms.

"To put an emphasis on the handing over of arms is an act of bad faith," he said.

"This war has causes, and the problem is not one of handing over arms but of ending the reasons that have led to taking up arms and maintaining the war."

If these problems, including sweeping changes in the military, the political system and judiciary, mentioned in the new rebel proposal were resolved, Mr. Villalobos said, there would be no reason for the guerrillas to take up arms.

But until such an agreement is reached, he said, demobilizing the rebels is out of the question.

Mr. Villalobos also criticized American policy.

He complained of what he called a lack of response from Washington to a rebel peace proposal announced in January, and of Washington's support for the Salvadoran government despite the passage of power in June from the centrist Christian Democratic Party of José Napoleón Duarte to Mr. Cristiani and his rightist Nationalist Republican Alliance.

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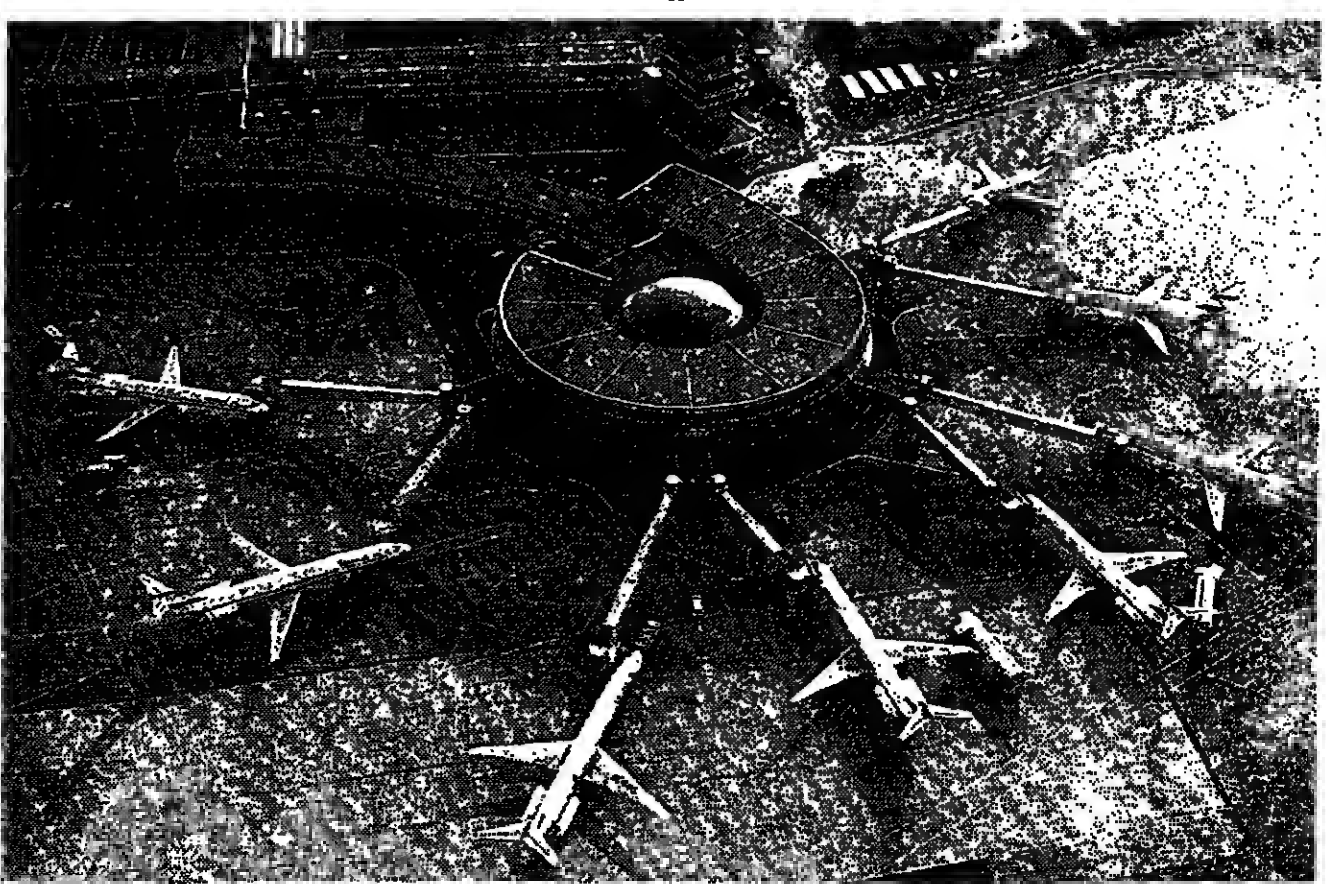
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U.S. Fine Collectors Mostly Collect Dust

By Sandra Torrey

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — More than eight years after he was sentenced for bribery and conspiracy in the Abscam scandal, former Representative Michael J. Myers has yet to pay a penny of the \$20,000 fine a federal judge imposed to punish him.

And the Justice Department has not hounded him for the money.

When he left prison in 1985, Mr. Myers, a Pennsylvania Democrat, fell into a void, as far as the government was concerned. He disappeared from the view of federal prosecutors. Government lawyers said they could not go after him because they did not know where he lived.

Mr. Myers, who returned from jail to the same Philadelphia neighborhood he had represented in Congress, works in a family-owned bar these days. He said in a recent interview that he was "close to being a pauper." As to the fine? "If I am not pursued over a debt, I am not in a rush to pay anything," he said.

Mr. Myers has plenty of company in the ranks of those who have not paid the fines imposed.

More than 37,000 people convicted of federal crimes and sentenced to pay fines or restitution owe the government more than \$646 million, according to Justice Department figures. Some of the debts date back 20 years.

It is a system in disarray, in which millions of dollars in unrealistic fines languish on the books with little expectation they will be paid; in which four arms of the lumbering criminal justice system work to impose fines, collect them and pursue those who do not pay; in which one arm often does not know what the others are doing.

At times, the system cannot keep track of who has paid and who has not. People who pay sometimes are listed among the nonpayers, but no action is taken against them. The Washington Post found in a random survey. Some pay in such small installments that their debts appear unlikely to be paid off for many years, if ever.

Judge Edward R. Becker of U.S. Circuit Court in Philadelphia said most experienced judges "have learned over the years that most of the fines they impose are never collected."

The chief of the federal probation office in Dallas, Al Havenstrite, said, "These laws on big fines look real good coming out of a legislative office, in the Congressional Record or on the news. 'We are getting tough on crime.'"

But, he added, most people are ruined financially by the time they are caught. "It may look real good that they are slapped with a big fine, but it's no punishment if you can't collect it," he said.

Criminal justice officials acknowledge the problems, but say they are moving on several fronts to step up enforcement. This month, the

Justice Department will initiate an incentive program, forgiving interest and penalties for those who pay in 60 days.

At times, instead of collecting a debt, the system simply forgives it.

Mary Treadwell, the former wife of Mayor Marion Barry of Washington, has not paid any of a \$40,000 fine, all with the blessing of the federal judge who sentenced her. Miss Treadwell, former head of the now defunct Youth Pride program in Washington, was fined for conspiracy to defraud the federal government, but the fine was suspended after the judge ruled she was unable to pay it.

Among others who have not paid are former Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. of New Jersey, who was fined \$50,000 after his Abscam conviction, and Dennis Levine, a former Manhattan investment banker, who has been challenging his \$362,000 fine for securities fraud in the appeals courts.

Criminal justice officials are working to revamp the collection system, with plans to tighten coordination, move to a national computer system and seek uniform federal laws to cut through a labyrinth of state collection statutes, according to the Justice Department.

In the last fiscal year, the 93 U.S. Attorney's offices collected about \$125 million in fines and restitution, according to department statistics. But in the first nine months of this fiscal year, federal judges piled on an additional \$331 million.

Soviet Party to Tackle Nationality Crisis

Reuters

MOSCOW — Communist Party hard-liners and reformists are expected to clash Tuesday at a long-delayed Central Committee plenum on nationalism, a problem that has threatened to unravel the fabric of the Soviet federation.

A Western diplomat who follows the nationalist issue predicted that the meeting would reflect internal party disputes rather than resolve the ethnic problems simmering from the Baltic republics to the volatile Transcaucasian region.

The special session is also expected to discuss a new party congress. Scheduled for early 1991, the congress is expected to be brought forward at the insistence of President Mikhail S. Gorbachev so that more progressives can be moved into senior party circles.

Only a congress can elect new members to the policy-making Central Committee. Party radicals like Boris N. Yeltsin have called for

an early session to clear out more conservatives from the top ranks.

Nationalism and ethnic unrest have threatened to undermine perestroika, Mr. Gorbachev's economic and political renewal campaign.

An Aug. 17 party document promised "radical transformations in the Soviet federation" to address the needs of the more than 100 ethnic groups in the country. It provided few details but said that the rights of the 15 Soviet republics should be broadened substantially.

The two-day Central Committee meeting follows a summer of nationalist activism.

Popular front movements, especially in the Baltic republics, have put local Communist Party officials on the defensive and sparked angry counterattacks from the local Russian-speaking minorities.

Huge protest meetings and a general strike have paralyzed the southern republic of Azerbaijan,

where nationalist railway workers have imposed a virtual blockade against Armenia.

In Moldavia, nationalist groups pushed hard to win official recognition of the Moldavian language.

Banks Urged to Aid East

A spokesman for major banks around the world is urging the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to aid market forces in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The Associated Press reported from Washington.

"The IMF and the World Bank should make a concerted effort to promote change," said Horst Schulmann, managing director of the Washington-based Institute of International Finance, which includes major banks in the United States, Britain and other leading financial countries.

The IMF and World Bank are owned by 151 governments, with the United States taking a major

role in both. China and some East European governments are members, but not the Soviet Union.

Mr. Schulmann said they could do more, "particularly in advising how to replace administrative controls with market mechanisms and through the funding of structural adjustment efforts."

He made his statements in a Sept. 12 letter to leaders of World Bank and IMF. The letter was made public Monday as representatives of leading banks and the 151 governments began gathering for annual meetings that will go on until the end of the month.

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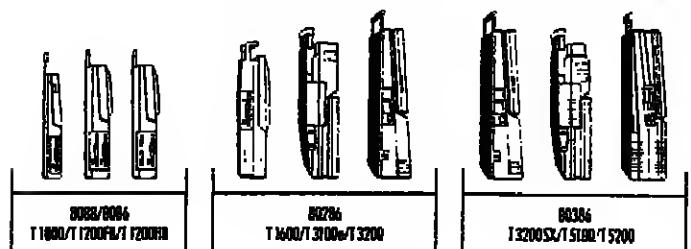


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In U.S., Impe Best and Won

WASHINGTON — The House of Representatives today voted to impeach President George H.W. Bush for alleged obstruction of justice in the case of a former White House aide who was accused of leaking classified information to the press.

The vote was 227-205, with 227 members of the House voting in favor of impeachment and 205 voting against it. The vote was the first in a series of three that will determine whether the president will be removed from office.

The House will vote on whether to remove the president from office on October 19. The Senate will vote on whether to convict the president on November 19.

Gene Reve Immune V

By Keith Stenlund
GENEVA, Switzerland — A new study has shown that the immune system of a person who has been infected with the AIDS virus (HIV) can be reactivated by a new vaccine.

The study, conducted by a team of researchers at the University of Geneva, found that the vaccine, which is made from a weakened form of the HIV virus, can stimulate the immune system to produce antibodies that fight the virus.

The researchers found that the vaccine was effective in 80% of the people who received it. This is a significant improvement over previous studies, which found that the vaccine was only effective in about 50% of the people.

The researchers are now planning to conduct a larger study to see if the vaccine can be used to prevent the spread of HIV.

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Beirut's Dazed Refugees Flood Cyprus on the Way Somewhere, Anywhere, Else

By Youssef M. Ibrahim
New York Times Service

LIMASSOL, Cyprus — Adolf Debbs is losing his glasses and being pushed far beneath the surface of the water by tumbling suitcases when a Syrian shell hit the vessel taking him out of Lebanon a few weeks ago.

When it was all over, Mr. Debbs, a Lebanese Christian representative of the Diners Club, somehow managed to rescue his 60-year-old mother but could do nothing for 3-year-old Ruba and 18-month-old Maya, the daughters of his best friend and neighbor. They drowned on that moonless night in the waters of the Mediterranean port of Jounieh in Beirut.

A few days earlier, Mr. Debbs's father was killed before his eyes when a shell destroyed the dining room of their East Beirut town house, he recalled in a conversation at a rented villa in Limassol, where he has brought his Shiite Muslim wife and their two children on their way to the United States.

Cyprus has become the first stop in a desperate exodus of thousands of Lebanese refugees.

Sullen and dazed, the refugees are disgorged here by ferry boats and airplanes night and day. They arrive after traveling through Middle Eastern and European countries that will not have them, braving the siege imposed on Lebanese ports by various militias and the Syrian Army or driving out of the country through checkpoints manned by thugs.

There are no reliable statistics for how many Lebanese have left this year, or where they have gone.

According to several estimates, more than a million Lebanese have emigrated since 1982, reducing Lebanon's population, once around 3.5 million, to below 2.5 million.

Various Lebanese authorities estimate that well over 40,000 Lebanese are in Cyprus now, and many more have stopped here before making their way elsewhere.

Some have left with only the clothes on their backs. Others have enough money to rent luxurious villas and send their children to the Lebanese schools just beginning to function in Cyprus, while still others live in cramped one-room apartments until their savings run out.

Although no detailed estimates are available on the religious and ethnic breakdown of the exodus, officials say they believe a high proportion, and perhaps a majority, of the refugees are Christians.

Some 120,000 Lebanese have found their way to France in the last three to four years, and tens of thousands have gone to the United States, Canada and Australia.

"People are going anywhere they can — Australia, Brazil, Canada, the U.S., France — anywhere that will take them," said Riad Jarjour, director of a convent in Ayia Napa, about an hour's drive from Limassol, a sort of refugee haven supported by the Middle East Council of Churches. "I have been here since 1982, and I have never seen it that bad."

"I guess you can say the eternally optimistic Lebanese are losing hope," he said.

"I stopped believing in miracles," said Saba Saba, 37, an elegantly dressed civil engineer and contractor, who lived in Muslim West Beirut. He is waiting in Limassol until he can travel to the United States.

Shiite Muslims are settling in growing numbers in the United States; Sunni Muslims are settling in Australia.

Christian Lebanese, however, seem to be leaving in larger numbers for countries like Canada and



A Muslim woman turning away from a building that collapsed Monday in southern Beirut during artillery duels between Christian and Syrian forces. Eighteen persons died in the building.

the United States. Their departure has reduced their proportion of the total population to 22 percent from

29 percent two decades ago, according to a study conducted by Michael F. Davis, a professor at

Saint Joseph University in Beirut. The Lebanese come to Cyprus to seek visas to other countries be-

cause emigration formalities can no longer be done in Lebanon.

Kidnapping and killing of foreign diplomats has forced virtually all embassies to close their consular sections. This leaves Cyprus and Syria as the only countries where Lebanese can travel without visas.

Most say they choose Cyprus because it is a safer, easier gateway to the rest of the world.

As a result, Western embassies in Cyprus are swamped. Hotels and furnished apartments all over Cyprus are overflowing with Lebanese refugees; many of them ironically refer to themselves as "the new boat people."

Getting out of Cyprus can be an ordeal, too. Most embassies grant visas grudgingly to the Lebanese, after an extensive security check and lengthy individual interviews.

At the U.S. Embassy in Nicosia, dozens of Lebanese men and women spend the night inside the complex, just to be in the front of the line in the morning. An embassy spokesman said only 35 to 40 interviews a day were handled.

In 1987, the most recent year for which figures are available, just over 4,000 Lebanese moved to the United States.

The Canadian Embassy sets appointments for interviews a year from now. An interview does not guarantee a visa, and even when it is granted, the wait can take weeks.

Still, the Lebanese say they have no choice.

"Until now, it was a war by installations," said a businessman. "Now it's a long-range war. I think it is the end of Lebanon as we knew it."

Since the Lebanese civil war started 14 years ago, 240,000 civilians have died, and well over a million refugees have been displaced inside the country itself. But it was not until the most vicious

fighting began five months ago that the large-scale exodus began.

Apart from the emotional trauma of leaving one's country, getting out of Lebanon is difficult, expensive and above all dangerous, the Lebanese refugees say.

Obtaining a Lebanese passport is a problem in a country where government is contested by Muslims and Christians. For example, passports issued in West Beirut by the Muslim government are not recognized in the Christian-dominated port of Jounieh, and passports issued in Christian East Beirut are not good for travel from Muslim-controlled Tripoli.

Those who try to get out via Syria must get a supplementary travel document, for which they have to pay bribes.

Even then they have to face the danger of passing through Muslim and Christian checkpoints. Hundreds, perhaps thousands of Lebanese of all groups have been killed and kidnapped while fleeing the country by Muslim and Christian militias.

Residents of Christian-controlled East Beirut have only one way to get out — on a fast hover-

craft named the Santa Maria, which leaves at irregular hours, usually in the dead of night to avoid Syrian artillery.

It takes four hours for the 350-seat vessel to make the crossing to Cyprus. It costs \$150 for a one-way ticket in a country where the average income has dropped to \$100 a month. This week a new vessel called Salem began to take Muslims from Tripoli to Cyprus.

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New York City Slayings Matching Record Pace

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Murders in New York City are occurring at a rate almost identical to that of last year, when a record 1,896 were reported, according to Police Department statistics.

In the first half of 1989, 837 homicides were reported, compared with 841 for the same period the year before.

In U.S., Imported Cars Get Best and Worst Mileage

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Imported cars dominate both the best and the worst categories in the annual U.S. survey of automobile gasoline mileage made public on Monday by the Environmental Protection Agency.

For the fifth straight year the most fuel-efficient car was the Japanese-made Geo Metro, sold by Chevrolet, followed by the Honda Civic CRX, the Suzuki Swift, the Daihatsu Charade and the Volkswagen Jetta diesel.

The Geo Metro XFI model had mileage of 53 miles (85.5 kilometers) a gallon in the city, 58 on the highway, and 55 overall, the same as last year. One gallon equals 3.78 liters.

No U.S.-made car made the top 10 list. The Ford Escort had the best mileage of any U.S. car with 32 miles a gallon in the city, 42 on the highway and 36 overall.

The car with the worst mileage was the Lamborghini Countach, which got 6 miles a gallon in the city and 10 on the highway. Rounding out the list of 10 cars with the worst gasoline mileage were four models of the Rolls-Royce, the Ferrari Testarossa, the BMW 750iL, the Porsche 928 S4, the Audi V8 and the Mercedes 230.

According to the survey, all but two of the 30 car models subject to the excessive gasoline consumption tax are luxury imports. The exceptions are two Cadillac models, the Allante and the larger-engine Brougham, which have combined city and highway mileage of 18 and 17 miles a gallon. They had the worst gasoline mileage of any U.S. car.

European models subject to the tax come from Maserati, Rolls-Royce, Porsche, Ferrari, Lamborghini, Volvo, Audi and BMW.

Gene Revolution: Immune Veggies

By Keith Schneider
New York Times Service

GENEVA, New York — First the tomato. Then the potato. And now the cucumber is being manipulated with the tools of genetic engineering.

Advances in techniques to insert genes into plants, including the development of a gun that shoots microscopic pellets coated with genes into plant cells, are rapidly broadening the range of crops transformed by scientists through genetic manipulation.

The latest of 30 experiments approved by the Department of Agriculture involves 105 altered cucumber plants growing at the New York State Agricultural Experiment Station here. In each plant is a virus gene that produces a protein to protect cucumbers from disease in much the way polio vaccinations protect people.

Though the test plot, in an apple and plum orchard, is hardly larger than a putting green, such small experiments in agriculture point the way to large developments.

Early in the century, superior lines of corn were experimentally crossed. By the 1930s they led to hybrid corn harvests that were the envy of the world.

In the 1930s and 1940s, the discovery that chemical compounds killed insects and disease-causing organisms helped researchers and farmers establish a highly specialized industrial system of agriculture that relied on pesticides to protect crops.

Now researchers predict that genetically altered crops, the first of which could reach the market in four years, may have the same sweeping effects on U.S. agriculture.

By the first decades of the 21st century, the technology has the potential to transform modern farming, experts say — from a system of establishing artificial environments with chemicals to a safer and less expensive system in which crops are custom-designed to fit the natural environment and still produce bountiful harvests.

The technology is enabling us to understand plants in a way never before possible and to modify them more quickly for specific uses," said Dr. Ralph W. Hardy, president of the Boyce Thompson Institute for Plant Research, an independent research center on the

campus of Cornell University in Ithaca, New York.

"It is good for farmers because it has the potential to lower their costs and raise the value of their crops," he said. "It is good for the consumers because, for instance, crops are being designed for higher nutritional value that can grow well without all these pesticides."

The first outdoor experiments on genetically altered crops came in 1986, when the Department of Agriculture approved three field trials on tobacco, which is considered the fruit fly of plant science because it is so easy to manipulate.

Since then, researchers have altered 29 other species of plants, including corn, cotton and soybeans. The number of field experiments has been doubling each year. Environmentalists and federal regulators have raised questions about these developments. The Food and Drug Administration is studying whether the gene insertions make the plants new products that require extensive safety tests.

The review was prompted by experiments this summer in which tobacco, corn and tomatoes were given a bacterial gene that eliminates the need for chemicals to kill rootworms, budworms and bollworms. The gene produces a natural protein, never shown to be harmful to mammals, that causes the worms' digestive system to disintegrate.

The gene has become a permanent part of the genetic code of each plant cell in the experimental crops, making almost every bite a lethal one for the voracious worms.

George J. Wagner, a plant physiologist at University of Kentucky in Lexington, is giving tobacco plants a mouse gene that produces a protein that binds with poisonous heavy metals like cadmium and renders them harmless.

Mr. Wagner said the system could be used with lettuce and other vegetables to counteract the effects of fertilizers with high concentrations of heavy metals — municipal sludge, for example.

Some environmentalists suggest that it would be wiser simply to stop using such fertilizers.

But the experiments that have attracted the most scrutiny from environmental groups are those in which such crops as tomatoes, soybeans, cotton and tobacco are designed to resist weedkillers.

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PHOTO BY HUBERT TURLEY

Turkey strongly protests Bulgarian

oppression and calls upon all nations to condemn these inhuman acts.

Every day, hundreds are beaten on the streets, hundreds are taken away for questioning in the middle of the night, hundreds are arrested for no reason at all, and hundreds are forcefully driven from the lands they have lived for centuries, their children taken away from them, their properties confiscated.

These people are the ethnic Turkish minority in Bulgaria.

Turkey will accept every single one of these people in a proper time period, just as she did accept thousands of Kurdish refugees from Iraq and Iran. Turkey will give these people support to set up new lives just as she has done for the Jews running away from the Spanish Inquisition, the White Russians fleeing the Revolution.

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Cambodian Pullout: The Implications

By Keith B. Richburg
Washington Post Service

MANILA—If the last Vietnamese infantryman leaves Cambodia next week as promised, the event may carry long-term implications almost as far-reaching as the U.S. retreat from Indochina in 1975.

The cohesion of Southeast Asia's non-communist bloc, the role of

With the failure of the recent talks in Paris and the absence of an accord, the pullout will not be supervised by the United Nations or any Western country. Thus the pullout will have no international guarantees.

Hanoi's decision to withdraw was driven more by the domestic pressures of a sick economy than the activities of the Cambodian rebels. Vietnam has suffered from the West's crippling boycott of aid, credit and technology, forcing it to increase its dependence on the Soviet Union and the East bloc. The war also led Vietnam into a brief war with China in 1979, and relations between the two are still frigid.

The pullback promises to unleash new diplomatic forces in the region. First, the withdrawal will remove the single cohesive issue that has maintained unity among the region's non-communist countries, linked through the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Before the invasion, the association was only "a paper tiger," in the words of Chana Samudhavanija, Thailand's former ambassador to Cambodia.

With the unifying force of Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia removed, experts predict that new disputes and old rivalries are likely to arise in the six-nation association.

Some of those differences have

Hanoi's decision to withdraw was driven more by the domestic pressures of a sick economy than the activities of the Cambodian rebels.

already surfaced. In an open show of discord that would have been inconceivable over the last decade, Singapore is publicly quarreling with Malaysia and Indonesia over its offer to the United States to welcome U.S. military bases. Also, the association members appear sharply divided over how best to deal with Vietnam immediately after the withdrawal.

After the withdrawal, the regional countries and the West will have to decide whether to acknowledge Vietnam's pullout and the legitimacy of the Vietnamese-backed government of Prime Minister Hun Sen—especially if the government holds off an expected stepping up of the insurgency.

Western nations and Vietnam's neighbors are unlikely to recognize the withdrawal immediately, but academic and diplomatic analysts say that if Mr. Hun Sen can last six months on his own, there are likely to be some cracks in the association's anti-Vietnamese front.

Thailand will face the specific problem of whether, and for how long, to allow Cambodian guerrilla groups to continue operations from sanctuaries on Thai soil. By closing the border to the insurgents, Bangkok would risk disrupting its own friendly ties with Beijing, the main arms supplier for the widely reviled Khmer Rouge guerrillas.

The improved relations between China and the ASEAN countries are another consequence of the 1978 invasion. In the 1960s and most of the 1970s, China was the region's parish, with Mao Zedong supporting Communist insurgents in Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia.

But after Mao's death and the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia,

China and the association countries decided they needed each other to confront the new threat of Vietnamese expansionism.

China officially dropped its support for Thai communists and be-

came the chief arms supplier for the

Cambodian rebels with weapons funneled through Thailand.

"The invasion allowed China's relations with Thailand to grow firmer," said Sukhumbhand Paribatra, a political scientist at Bangkok's Chulalongkorn University and a former government adviser on foreign policy.

"We in Southeast Asia now have a less hysterical view of China," he said. "This is evidenced by the fact that our reaction to the events at Tiananmen Square has been very muted. Without the invasion of Cambodia, things would have been very different."

For the longer term, the ASEAN members also must decide the best approach to reintegrate Indochina into the region's economy. Hanoi has already asked to join the Asian association, but most political analysts say that is unlikely. More likely is some kind of separate but formal link between the association and the communist nations of Indochina on commercial and trade matters.

Vietnam's effort to secure economic aid and trade from the association nations is, by itself, one of the dramatic shifts since the invasion.

Before 1979, flush from its victory over the United States and maintaining the world's third-largest standing army, Vietnam was considered a military giant in the region. Thailand, by contrast, was perceived as the vulnerable "next domino" threatened by communist expansion in Southeast Asia because of its fragile political and economic institutions.

Now, Vietnam is considered an economic basket case.

"Indochina began their spiral



Cambodian policemen taking a break on the streets of Phnom Penh.

downward" 10 years ago, said the political scientist Douglas Pike, a longtime Vietnam watcher, while "the ASEAN states began their economic spiral upward."

At the time of the invasion in 1978, Mr. Pike said, "the ASEAN states were running scared."

Vietnam had won the war and there was the prospect of this "rogue elephant" running through Southeast Asia," he said.

But in the last 10 years "we've seen a complete reversal of this kind of perception," he said. "It was not a rogue elephant about to go rampaging through Southeast Asia, but a dinosaur stuck in a tar pit."

The other unresolved issue likely to be revived by the withdrawal is the question of U.S. relations with Vietnam. For eight years, the Reagan administration said a with-

drawal was the main prerequisite for normalizing relations and ending the economic embargo.

U.S. government officials have recently said that Washington's position will need to be re-examined after the Vietnamese pullout. But some suggest that the Bush administration may take a tougher line than its predecessor, perhaps adding new conditions even after the troop withdrawal.

India Sets Pullout From Sri Lanka

By Sanjoy Hazarika
New York Times Service

NEW DELHI—India agreed on Monday to withdraw its 43,000 troops from Sri Lanka by next December and to end hostilities with the main Tamil insurgent group.

India and Sri Lanka signed the agreement at Colombo, the Sri Lankan capital, under which Sri Lanka agreed to speed the granting of more political and economic powers to the Tamils in the northeast of the country and set up an effective police force and administration in the region.

If the cease-fire is violated, the two countries said that "immediate consequential action" would be

taken, clearly indicating that the Indians will retain the right to retaliate if attacked.

There has been no comment on the developments from the Tamil insurgent group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

If the accord is fully put into effect, it could signal the end of India's direct involvement in a bitter ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and close a painful and embarrassing chapter in its foreign policy and military history.

In its two-year fight against the Tamil rebel movement, which New Delhi initially supported, the Indian Army suffered and inflicted heavy casualties, as it controlled,

but was unable to crush, the insurgents. In the process, it lost more than 1,000 soldiers killed and suffered 3,000 wounded.

An aide to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said in New Delhi that India had insured the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka "at considerable cost to ourselves" after the Tamil-dominated northeast had been on the edge of secession in 1987.

India was also sharply denounced by its smaller neighbors for refusing to heed a July 29 deadline for troop withdrawals set by President Ranasinghe Premadasa of Sri Lanka.



A sweeper cleaning a street Monday in Ho Chi Minh City before the arrival of Vietnamese soldiers withdrawing from Cambodia.

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0033

15 States Meet in Paris To Create Plan to Stop Drug Profit Laundering

By Barry James

PARIS — Financial officials from 15 nations met in session at the French Ministry of Finance on Monday to draw up a plan to prevent drug dealers from laundering huge multimillion dollar profits through the international banking system.

French officials surrounded the one-day meeting with heavy security and kept details of it secret. It was called at the behest of the seven-nation summit meeting of the world's most industrialized countries in Paris in July.

DRUG: Pentagon Role

(Continued from page 1)

war against civilian drug-smugglers.

In particular, some lawmakers are urging that the navy and air force be given the authority to shoot down private aircraft suspected of carrying drugs into the United States when the suspects refuse to land for on-the-ground inspection.

"I'm not eager to see that kind of authority granted to us," Mr. Cheney replied when asked if wanted that authority. "The idea that we would go out and willy-nilly shoot down unidentified aircraft strikes me as not a very good one."

Mr. Cheney said his department would not be drawn into a law enforcement role in the anti-drug battle, and U.S. forces overseas would not be put in combat situations.

"There's a clear line out there," he said, "that the military will not cross."

"The Defense Department is not a law enforcement agency," Mr. Cheney continued. "We do not enforce domestic criminal laws nor can we solve society's demand problem."

"But there is much we can do without usurping the police role. We will work on the drug program at every phase — at the source, in the delivery pipeline, and by further supporting federal, state and local law enforcement agencies."

China Typhoon Kills 72 And Injures Hundreds

The Associated Press

BEIJING — The death toll from a typhoon in the eastern Chinese province of Zhejiang rose to 72 on Monday, state television reported as it showed the first pictures of the weekend's devastation.

Several hundred people were also injured in the typhoon which struck on Saturday, Chinese television said in its evening broadcast.

Earlier press reports said it was the worst storm in 27 years to hit Zhejiang Province, on the east China Sea. Worst hit was Taizhou, a city 40 kilometers (25 miles) inland from the east China Sea on the Ling River, the television said.

Neighboring Jiangnan Province also felt the sting of the typhoon, the official Xinhua News Agency reported, but no casualty figures were reported.

STORM: 10 Killed in Caribbean

(Continued from page 1)

west-northwest through the eastern Caribbean, hitting the U.S. and British Virgin Islands with 100-mile-an-hour winds and rains that caused heavy flooding and destroyed homes.

Nearly all of Montserrat's 12,000 residents were homeless, and schools, hospitals and the police department all suffered serious damage, according to a ham radio operator in New York City.

The police said that a man was electrocuted in Puerto Rico when he touched a power line while removing a television antenna from his roof in preparing for the storm.

The hurricane uprooted trees and knocked out power in the British Virgin Islands.

A plane was sent Sunday from Paris with 60 rescue workers and emergency supplies for Guadeloupe, and two more French aircraft were waiting for Caribbean airports to reopen.

(AP, UPI)

YELTSIN: An Uproar in Moscow

(Continued from page 1)

by ordinary Soviets. Previous attempts by the official Soviet media to blacken Mr. Yeltsin's reputation have only added to his popularity.

"Undoubtedly this can be harmful to Yeltsin," said Mikhail Davydov, a parliamentary aide to the Soviet legislator. "It is libel, a slander. There have been lots of positive articles about Yeltsin in the West, but Pravda chose to publish one that suited its line."

Muscovites reacted with anger, shock and bewilderment that a Western newspaper published such damaging comments about the scourge of the Soviet bureaucracy.

"It is a shame, a disgrace," screamed Tatiana Ivanova, one of dozens of Yeltsin supporters who gathered in Pushkin Square to discuss the allegations. "No Italian could ever have written such a thing himself. The Communists must have paid him to write it."

La Repubblica quoted an official of the Eastern Foundation, Alfred Rose, as saying that AIDS patients in the Soviet Union would be unlikely to come on money raised by Mr. Yeltsin during his \$25,000 a shot lecture tour.

The article said that Mr. Yeltsin had swept through department



Jiang Zemin: 'Everyone's comrade'

CHINA: Deng Proposes Successor

(Continued from page 1)

Li Peng, Mr. Jiang, a cosmopolitan technocrat who speaks fluent English and Russian in addition to

some Japanese and Romanian, is clearly identified with the policy of economic openness to West.

Mr. Deng's remarks mean that Mr. Jiang is viewed with far greater authority than has generally been believed.

Even with Mr. Deng's backing, Mr. Jiang faces two major challenges. The first is to retain Mr. Deng's support. The second is to maintain his power when Mr. Deng dies or gives up power.

The death of Mr. Deng would be almost certain to unleash a power struggle, and Mr. Jiang may find himself outmaneuvered by those with more experience and with party central apparatus.

The confidential report — a virtual transcript of the talks by Mr. Deng on May 31 and June 16 as well as a June 9 speech that has already been published — is contained in a numbered document circulated among departments of the central party organization.

Various forms of Mr. Deng's three speeches have been circulated and studied by thousands of Chinese. But the speeches were edited before being distributed, and the reference to Mr. Jiang as the heir apparently was considered too sensitive to be included in some circulated versions of the speech.

Mr. Deng emphasizes repeatedly in the June 16 talk, which was addressed to eight Politburo members, that China must continue and even step up its economic policies.

"We should on the one hand keep the reforms going and on the other hand deal with the political corruption," Mr. Deng said.

"These two things can make our policy more impressive, more clear and more persuasive to the people, and then we can win their hearts."

Mr. Deng then said that the third task was to root out the remnants of the democracy movement.

"We can't afford to be merciful to these outlaws," Mr. Deng said. "However, we should keep in mind that we should judge the crime according to the facts and the law. There should be a limit to killing people. We should follow the policy of leniency to those who confess their crimes and severity to those who refuse to confess."

Mr. Jiang led the crackdown on intellectuals in Shanghai during the democracy movement. But he played a key role in trying to modernize the city's industry and inviting foreign businessmen to invest.

In his talk, Mr. Deng made it clear that he wished Mr. Jiang to be the ultimate arbiter of Chinese policy.

"Every matter needs careful deliberation of various views, and if after those views have been weighed there is still no decision, turn to him," Mr. Deng said.

When Mao died in 1976, he apparently intended his successor to be a fast-rising young man named Hua Guofeng, but Mr. Hua's power

eroded steadily until within a few years he had lost all significant positions.

Mr. Deng conceded difficulties in providing for the succession, but defended his removal of Mr. Zhao and of Hu Yaobang, whose death April 15 led to the democracy movement.

"I made arrangements for the succession, but the two successors could not stand on their own feet," he said in the speech.

"After the new group establishes its own authority, I will definitely withdraw and will not interfere in your affairs," Mr. Deng said May 31 after suggesting that he would resign as chairman of the military commission. "I hope everybody will consider Comrade Jiang Zemin as the core of the party and unite together. Please don't look down on each other and waste energy fighting among yourselves."

Other anti-apartheid leaders have suggested more cynically that Mr. de Klerk's decision was designed chiefly to avoid a volatile confrontation between the police and participants in a planned "March for Peace" in Cape Town last Wednesday in full view of U.S. and European television cameras and diplomats.

In fact, government sources say, Mr. de Klerk's motive was much more far-reaching. He made his announcement in the belief, they say, that a dramatic gesture was needed to salvage his floundering plans to involve black leaders in talks on a new constitution that would give the black majority of 23 million a vote in governing South Africa while protecting the status of the country's 4.5 million whites.

Black leaders across the political spectrum have said they cannot consider such negotiations while laws prohibit their constituents from expressing their political aspirations peacefully in the only way available to them — public protest.

For his part, Mr. de Klerk has said repeatedly that he cannot issue

a blanket repeal of the myriad emergency prohibitions against dissent because of the potential for a revival of revolutionary violence. But what he appears to be doing now is selectively waiving emergency restrictions and testing the reaction before relaxing the statutes further.

But what seems almost to have been forgotten in the euphoria of the past week is that the legal protest marches were preceded on election night — Sept. 6 — by the worst racial violence since 69 blacks were shot to death at Sharpeville in 1969 and by a police crackdown that rivaled the crescendo of civil disorder in June 1986.

While the colorful and highly publicized protest marches are being held, security police are still arresting key leaders of the civil disobedience campaign led by the Mass Democratic Movement, a coalition of banned anti-apartheid organizations.

Where Mr. de Klerk's risky initiative will lead South Africa in the months ahead is a question no one can answer.

PACIFIC: U.S. Is Relocating Forces as End of Philippines Pact Nears

(Continued from page 1)

member Philippine Senate. Last month, 12 senators called for the bases to be closed in 1991. That would be enough to block any extension of the agreement.

U.S. officials said that while no single country in the Western Pacific can replicate the Philippines as a major base for American naval, air and marine forces, the "scattering" of activities will help sustain forward deployment of a credible U.S. military presence in the Western Pacific.

At the same time, Asian officials said that defense cooperation arrangements between non-Communist countries in Southeast Asia are being strengthened to reduce the U.S. burden and discourage powers outside the region from filling any gaps caused by diminished American presence.

This strengthening includes more and larger bilateral military exercises, intelligence exchanges, and acquisition of advanced weapons and technology from the United States and other Western suppliers.

Larry A. Nicksch, an Asian affairs specialist with the U.S. Congressional Research Service, said that the bases in the Philippines were "unique in their ability to support a surge of U.S. military operations in different geographical regions ranging from the Persian Gulf to Northeast Asia" in any crisis.

He explained that without access to the Subic Bay naval complex, support for the U.S. fleet in the Pacific and Indian oceans would probably rely on limited facilities in Guam, a U.S. island territory in the Western Pacific, and in Japan

and Singapore. Singapore is a center for commercial ship repair and maintenance.

Mr. Nicksch added that possible alternatives to Clark Air Base included greater access to facilities in other parts of Southeast Asia and Australia.

Western officials said that for a number of years Singapore had overhauled U.S. military aircraft, given landing rights to American supply flights to and from the U.S.-British island-base at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, and provided repair services, supplies and fuel to U.S. warships patrolling Asian waters.

More recently, the officials said, advanced U.S. fighters based in Japan had flown to Singapore for exercises with the Singapore Air Force that lasted up to two weeks. U.S. officials said that the Joint

Chief of Staff in Washington was studying a report prepared by a U.S. technical team that had visited Singapore to survey military facilities here.

Analysts said that continued Japanese military cooperation with the United States was vital in adjusting the framework of security relations between non-Communist nations in the Western Pacific to cope with changed strategic circumstances and a relative decline in U.S. power.

Tommy T.B. Koh, Singapore's ambassador to the United States, said that Washington must maintain the credibility of the U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty.

"If Japanese confidence in the treaty is lost," he said, "Japan may seek to become an independent military power."

The Mass Democratic Movement is certain to intensify its campaign of civil disobedience in advance of the Commonwealth conference in Auckland, New Zealand, to encourage the group to impose economic sanctions on Pretoria.

The banned African National Congress, the main guerrilla force battling white rule, could revive its armed struggle within South Africa. That would increase pressure on Mr. de Klerk by the far right to reconsider his relaxed security policy.

It also remains to be seen how Mr. de Klerk will react to such pressure and to the inevitable letdown in South Africa and abroad if the expectations raised by his election are not fulfilled soon.

But as long as the anti-government demonstrations are conducted in the disciplined manner displayed here and in Cape Town last week, Mr. de Klerk appears determined to allow the peaceful protests in the hope that they will stimulate negotiations toward a more permanent solution to South Africa's problems.

Other anti-apartheid leaders have suggested more cynically that Mr. de Klerk's decision was designed chiefly to avoid a volatile confrontation between the police and participants in a planned "March for Peace" in Cape Town last Wednesday in full view of U.S. and European television cameras and diplomats.

In fact, government sources say, Mr. de Klerk's motive was much more far-reaching. He made his announcement in the belief, they say, that a dramatic gesture was needed to salvage his floundering plans to involve black leaders in talks on a new constitution that would give the black majority of 23 million a vote in governing South Africa while protecting the status of the country's 4.5 million whites.

Black leaders across the political spectrum have said they cannot consider such negotiations while laws prohibit their constituents from expressing their political aspirations peacefully in the only way available to them — public protest.

For his part, Mr. de Klerk has said repeatedly that he cannot issue

a blanket repeal of the myriad emergency prohibitions against dissent because of the potential for a revival of revolutionary violence. But what he appears to be doing now is selectively waiving emergency restrictions and testing the reaction before relaxing the statutes further.

But what seems almost to have been forgotten in the euphoria of the past week is that the legal protest marches were preceded on election night — Sept. 6 — by the worst racial violence since 69 blacks were shot to death at Sharpeville in 1969 and by a police crackdown that rivaled the crescendo of civil disorder in June 1986.

While the colorful and highly publicized protest marches are being held, security police are still arresting key leaders of the civil disobedience campaign led by the Mass Democratic Movement, a coalition of banned anti-apartheid organizations.

Where Mr. de Klerk's risky initiative will lead South Africa in the months ahead is a question no one can answer.

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Herald Tribune

De Klerk's Bold Start

A peaceful protest against apartheid took place last week in Cape Town under the friendly eye of the police. It sounds unthinkable in South Africa, but it happened as a result of an initiative by the newly elected president, Frederik W. de Klerk. A march had been organized to ask his new government to support the modest goals of scrapping discriminatory legislation and ending police violence. Illegal under the prevailing emergency legislation, such a happening ordinarily would have meant dogs, whips, tear gas, rows of intimidating police—the ugly face of apartheid. This time Mr. de Klerk satisfied himself that the protest would be orderly and let it proceed, which it did—with flags and slogans of the banned African National Congress, and without incident. Similar events followed elsewhere.

This new development has some major implications. It was probably possible all along for South African officials to take the same open approach to protest had they chosen to. No doubt some opponents of apartheid set out to use violence, but most people, denied access to the polls, have simply wanted to register their demands with the authorities. Who can say how many deaths, how much tragedy, could have been avoided had the white regime set an example of tolerance and civil respect? As it is, there would seem to be no further reason for Pretoria to continue the state of emergency in which it has constrained black political expression in recent years.

Even more stirring are the official hints that Mr. de Klerk is prepared to contemplate a real break with the past—not just the sort of movement that whites have thought sufficient, which is what has come so far, but the sort that blacks believe essential. "The door to a new South Africa is open," Mr. de Klerk said by way of explaining his attitude to the Cape Town march. "It is not necessary to beat it down." He invited blacks to join negotiations on a new constitutional order providing political rights for all of the country's citizens—his party's program.

One gesture does not a revolution undo. Mr. de Klerk must go much further to earn blacks' participation in the process he contemplates of their unshackling and enfranchisement. They have a claim not only on demonstrations of his good faith but on credible assurances that a result consistent with equality and dignity lies at the end of the road. For all the uncertainty of that passage, however, it appears that Mr. de Klerk has made a bold start on it.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Oil Spills and the Law

Six months after one of its tankers piled into a reef and fouled an Alaskan bay with 11 million gallons of oil, Exxon has declared victory and is heading home. The company says it has already spent \$1 billion to clean the waters and shorelines of Alaska's Prince William Sound and, with bad weather looming, can do no more until spring. The state of Alaska says the job is far from finished, that Exxon is cynically counting on America to forget and that it will not return at all.

With images of oil-soaked otters, birds and seahorses firmly burned into their consciousness, Americans are not likely to forget the wreck of the Exxon Valdez as time soon—and not likely to let Exxon forget it, either. But there is a greater danger: that Congress may forget the two biggest lessons of the spill.

The first is that industry, despite all sorts of rosy promises, has neither the will nor the technology to contain a major spill. The second is that both industry and government should be forced to take sensible steps to prevent spills from happening in the first place. These lessons were not lost on the Senate, which adopted a bill last summer to increase greatly the cost of carelessness. It would stiffen penalties on individual shippers and make the oil companies collectively responsible for cleanups and damages. The bill is not perfect; but with one big exception, it is stronger on every key issue than a companion measure now headed to the floor of the House.

Making Industry Pay. Present law—the Clean Water Act of 1970, as amended in 1977—provides a revolving fund of \$35 million for a single oil spill. Both bills agree that is laughable; it would pay for less than 2 percent of the expected costs of the Alaskan

disaster. Both bills, therefore, would establish a fund providing up to \$1 billion for each individual spill, and paid for by a modest 2-cent-a-barrel tax on oil. That would not cover the Valdez costs, but it would increase collective responsibility on the oil industry.

Turning Up the Heat on Offenders. Collective responsibility, however useful, can also lull individual companies into complacency. Under existing law, limits of liability on individual shippers are ridiculously low. The Senate would raise them to \$1,000 per gross ton, or about \$100 million for a ship the size of the Exxon Valdez. In cases of gross negligence, the bill would come off. The House would cap liability at about half the Senate's figure. Even worse, language in the House bill would make proving gross negligence almost impossible.

Preserving Seniors' Rights. The Senate bill correctly protects the rights of states to pass their own liability laws. The House would preempt those rights, which infuriates senators from coastal states, like George Mitchell of Maine, the majority leader. The states say that without their own laws they will not be able to sue for damages to state property. And state liability laws tend to make proof of negligence easier. Alaskan officials say Alaska's tough laws were one reason Exxon went to the lengths it did.

Finally, the Senate bill offers a far more generous definition of what constitutes damage to natural resources—and that, too, would cost the shippers and oil companies more. The oil companies are feeling embattled these days. But their plight is partly a measure of their own complacency. It is this careless history that the Senate seeks now to redress, and that the House would be shortsighted to ignore.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. Brady's 'Long View'

While the secretary of the U.S. Treasury, Nicholas Brady, vigorously supports reducing the deficit, he equally vigorously supports tax breaks that will make it worse. He has for some time favored cutting the tax rate on capital gains. Now he proposes to attack another grievance of stockholders, the double taxation of company dividends.

Dividends are taxed once, in effect, when corporations pay their income taxes, and again when stockholders pay their personal taxes. Mr. Brady raised the subject in a recent speech, but offered no thoughts on offsetting the revenue losses that lighter taxation of dividends would cause. His purpose, he explained, was the larger one of encouraging Americans to take the long view of the economy. He wants to draw attention to the need for investment, which is lower in the United States than among most of its competitors. One important reason is the high cost of capital.

There is no question that the cost of capital is substantially higher in the United States than it is in Japan and West Germany. Mr. Brady cited a study published by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York showing that the cost of capital for, say, a factory with a 40-year life is more than 10 percent in America, versus

about 5 percent in those two countries. But the same study's authors also found, and stated squarely, that the structure of income taxes is not an important determinant of the differences in capital costs. Taxes are not negligible. But the real explanations for the Japanese and German advantage here are, above all, their much higher savings, and a more successful record of good economic management that keeps growth up and inflation down.

That is fundamental. All over Washington, politicians are claiming that this or that popular tax break will cure the ills of the economy. Very often, as in this case, the tax break has little or no real relationship to the deficit it is supposed to fix.

To listen to the current clamor for tax breaks, you would think that Americans were groaning along under the most onerous and extortionate taxes since the pharaohs. In fact, their total tax burden is the lowest in any industrial country. Japan, which used to have the lowest taxes, edged slightly higher than the United States a couple of years ago. American taxes are very low—too low to sustain American responsibilities, and that is why there is a big deficit pushing up the cost of capital.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Other Comment

The New 'German Question'

As East Germans poured across the Austrian-Hungarian border last week, the "German question" was thrust again to the fore. Yet all the old formulas appear shopworn. A destabilized Europe? German power on the march? These are specters created by the bloody bombast of the Kaiserreich, the failure of the Weimar Republic, the nightmare of Nazism. But they offer only scant hints of what Europe will look like when American-Soviet armies and alliances are not so overwhelming a presence.

Christian Hacke, a West German historian, argues that Bonn has become "the cen-

tral Western negotiating partner for the East European governments... the leading force in détente in Western Europe... the most important economic partner of the Socialist countries... the most important economy and one of the leading powers of the European Community."

Is this German hubris? Sure. But it is also pretty accurate. The key to the "German question" is not whether West Germany will be Europe's leading power. It already is. The key is how it will lead. Here the world has to pray that 40 years of genuine democracy—a period almost twice as long as the Weimar and Hitler experiences combined—will discipline and enlighten German ambitions.

—The Baltimore Sun

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Moscow Isn't Ready For GATT

By Michael Samuels

WASHINGTON—When Secretary of State James Baker meets his Soviet counterpart, Eduard Shevardnadze, in Wyoming this week, economic as well as political issues will be on the table. While seeking to use economic tools as part of a creative approach to the Soviet Union, U.S. officials should be careful not to undermine other efforts important to America's national interest. One such effort is the pursuit of a fairer and more credible system for international trade.

Two major developments—the political and economic changes in the Soviet Union and the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade talks—are proceeding simultaneously. The Soviet Union is seeking to join the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. But if the talks are to succeed in liberalizing and expanding world trade, it is imperative that those in the West who are excited by Mikhail Gorbachev's attempts at reform do not jump the gun by supporting membership for the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is the most important nonmarket economy in the world. Expanded East-West economic cooperation—more trade, joint ventures, the introduction of a convertible ruble—could well accelerate movement toward a new world order and offer a way for outsiders to support the process of Soviet reform.

Reducing or eliminating constraints on U.S.-Soviet trade would be an appropriate response to developments in the Soviet Union.

While bilateral policies make sense at this stage, multilateral ones do not. American political leaders must be wary of making any response to Soviet liberalization that might undercut



the movement toward more effective multilateral trade.

World trade is at a crossroads. The credibility of the multilateral system that has underpinned economic growth and the expansion of world trade for four decades rests squarely on market-oriented beliefs. These beliefs are codified in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which ties the trading of 97 nations together in a contract of rights and obligations.

For the last few years, many people have felt that GATT needed to be strengthened. That is the objective of the Uruguay Round, which began in September 1986 and is due to be completed before the end of 1990.

If these talks are successful, it will mean a stronger and more truly market-oriented multilateral system. Failure would put the present system into crisis and set governments

looking for alternative approaches.

Some politicians and diplomats, looking through United Nations-tinted lenses, take a universalistic view and assume that all countries have a right to join the GATT. That is incorrect. In order to be a member, a country has to accept very specific trade-related obligations.

But the Soviet Union is nowhere close to being able to commit itself to observe the existing obligations of the GATT, let alone the expanded obligations that may emerge from the Uruguay Round of trade talks.

The Soviet Union has not made the bureaucratic commitment nor begun the actual steps toward a market economy that has China, which has already begun negotiating to adhere to the GATT. (The crackdown on the democracy movement in China delayed talks on Chinese membership.)

To the extent that opening negotiations with China, in the first place, reflected a victory of political inclination over economic reason, the current repression should serve as an additional caution against doing anything similar with the Soviet Union.

Thus, until fundamental economic change has occurred in the Soviet Union—change that might be a decade away—any temptation to consider Soviet membership in GATT should be resisted.

Wishful thinking by officials in the West about perestroika and glasnost runs the risk of undermining the multilateral trading system.

The writer, former U.S. ambassador to GATT, is a director of international trade at Hill and Knowlton, a public relations firm. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

In U.S. Politics, a Sense of Drift and Trivialization

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON—The science of interpreting elections has a fancy name: psephology. A shorter, simpler and more accurate title for much election analysis? Fiction.

Anyone who can find much meaning in the latest round of city and congressional elections in the United States has too much imagination to be working in journalism. That, of course, will not keep us punding quiet.

Consider the New York Democratic mayoral primary, in which the Manhattan borough president, David Dinkins, defeated three-term Mayor Edward Koch. Despite an outburst of punditry, this result told us one thing only: After 12 years, even New Yorkers had had a bellyful of America's most obnoxiously loud-mouthed politician.

The pundits said the New York result was historic because Mr. Dinkins will become the city's first black mayor if he beats the Republican nominee, Rudolph Giuliani, in November. If that happens, as it probably will, New York will achieve a breakthrough that Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Atlanta, Washington, New Orleans and other cities accomplished during the past two decades. Welcome to the club, New York, but take your place in line.

Yes, say the pundits, but Mr. Dinkins got an "unprecedented" 30 percent of the white vote. Unprecedented? What about all those Angelenos

who have voted for Tom Bradley as mayor all those times? The discovery that whites will vote for black candidates cannot be news in many places less parochial than New York.

What the various elections this year have confirmed is the sense of drift in American politics and the trivialization of the campaign process.

Including two votes Tuesday, there have been six special elections to the House of Representatives this year. The Democrats took a seat from the Republicans in Indiana; the Republicans took over a Democratic seat in Florida. The other four stayed with the party of the departed incumbents, three Democratic and one Republican. Net result in the party lineup in the House: No change.

The two House seats that did switch illustrate nothing more than the dominance of local factors over national issues or concerns. Representative Jill Long, a Democrat of Indiana, owes her victory in a previously Republican district centered on Fort Wayne to the fact that she had gained wide name recognition through an earlier, unsuccessful Senate campaign and, even more, to the fact that her opponent was associated with unpopular local tax increases and annexation moves.

Representative Ilsema Ros-Lehtinen, a Republi-

can of Florida, won in a previously Democratic Miami district in large part because she was able to mobilize an exceptionally high turnout in the Cuban-American community, eager to elect one of its members over a white Jewish Democrat.

What anyone could conclude from this beyond its demonstration of unsurprising ethnic solidarity is hard to know. These and other 1989 campaigns have featured the negative television ads that are the bane of politics. The elections turned on such edifying questions as whether one guy's womanizing was worse than another's drinking; whether a mysterious third passenger had or had not been in the car when one candidate crashed; and, believe it or not, whether one candidate's absence signified dissent when the Alabama Legislature voted to keep the Confederate flag flying over the state capitol.

Maybe the trivialization and the cynicism and the plain parochialism of politics in 1989 suggest that voters have no large concerns. One has to think, however, that the extremely low turnouts mean that most people with real worries about their cities or their country simply find politics irrelevant. Absent great causes or strong leaders, who can blame them?

But let us not be too gloomy. Any year that ends Ed Koch's public career cannot be all bad.

The Washington Post

Australia: A Dogfight Between Hawke and the Pilots

By Michelle Grattan

CANBERRA—Prime Minister Bob Hawke, once the leader of Australia's national trade union movement, is now engaged in a battle against domestic airlines that have crippled the country's air services and threatened the wage-fixing system that underpins the government's economic program. Mr. Hawke has to win this struggle. He has said publicly that he does not deserve to be prime minister if he cannot protect the wage system, and the economy, in this battle.

The pilots have demanded a 29 percent pay increase, insisting that it be negotiated outside the centralized wage system. This provoked the two main domestic airlines—Ansett and the state-owned Australian Airlines—to join with the Labor Party government and the Australian Council of Trade Unions to resist the demand.

The pilots, whom Mr. Hawke has described as "highly paid bus drivers," resigned en masse on Aug. 24. Since then, the air force and charter operators have provided skeletal service while the airlines have begun hiring pilots, previous employees or new people, on individual contracts.

The government says that the pilots must not get a better deal than other workers do under the arbitration system, which trades off wage gains for productivity increases. But Mr. Hawke has also had to accept that the only way to break the pilots' strike is to induce some of them back to the cockpit with contracts, a tactic more in line with the conservative opposition's approach to bargaining between unions and employers.

The dispute has damaged the Australian economy, especially the tourism industry. It came just as the government was improving its position for an election expected to be held early next year. Labor's fortunes began looking up after the government unveiled a budget last month that included a surplus of more than 9 billion Australian dollars (\$6.7 billion) and a retirement package for the aged. The performance of the Liberal and National Party opposition, meanwhile, has been lackluster.

But the government faces a big electoral liability in the form of high interest rates—now 17 percent for

home loans. Labor tacticians would like to see a sustained fall in rates before the elections. But a premature easing of the government's tight money policy could jeopardize economic recovery. Mr. Hawke remains personally popular. But his administration, in power since 1983, is starting to face a growing sense among voters that it is time for a change.

The budget contained a pessimistic forecast on inflation, likely to hit 7.5 percent in the year ending next June, and on the current account deficit, indicating that Australia is continuing to spend far more than it earns.

The government has said that inflation and the current account balance should improve in the early months of next year. But the pace of economic restructuring, aimed at improving the country's efficiency and its competitiveness in international markets, has been too slow. Though reliance on raw material exports has been reduced, Australia remains vulnerable to any downturn in world commodity prices. Important sectors of the economy, such as notoriously

inefficient wharf operations and the coastal shipping industry, are only now on the verge of significant reform. But critics say these changes will not be drastic enough.

An accord negotiated by the government and the trade union movement is holding wage increases to about 7 percent this financial year. An overhaul of the wage system, now under way, is intended to encourage workers to acquire a broader range of skills. This is being accompanied by changes in the education system. But some experts maintain that educational objectives, especially in upper levels, are being compromised in the rush to gear courses to the economy's needs.

The next election will present voters with alternatives that are not sharply at odds—a Labor government committed to policies of economic pragmatism and cooperation with unions and employers; and an opposition that promises a change of emphasis rather than direction. Labor now appears to be a narrow favorite. But the outcome of the pilots' strike and the condition of the economy could have a crucial bearing on how Australians vote.

New Zealand: Competence May Count

By Roderic Alley

WELLINGTON, New Zealand—The rise of Geoffrey Palmer, who is 47, from university law professor to prime minister of New Zealand, by way of a relatively brief stint in Parliament, has been remarkable. It vindicates a view that dedication, loyalty and ability can matter more in politics than charisma—a strong suit of his predecessor, David Lange, but never of Mr. Palmer's.

Equally striking has been the emergence of Helen Clark, 39, as the new deputy prime minister. She is the first woman to reach such a high position in a New Zealand government.

Mr. Lange had enlisted New Zealand with five years of unbridled wit and managed to sustain public support for an anti-nuclear policy that placed the country at loggerheads with its former ally, the United States. But when he resigned last month, he left the Labor government with many problems.

Perhaps the most serious is a 10 percent unemployment rate. This has led to an increased crime rate, growing income disparities and heightened racial tensions between Maoris and white New Zealanders. Nearly one in three adults receives

welfare payments from the state.

Mr. Lange's departure, if not predicted, was unsurprising. For 18 months, he had been clashing with Roger Douglas, who, as finance minister, was the architect of a program of radical restructuring and deregulation of the economy launched by the Labor government.

When Mr. Lange insisted that the government place greater emphasis on traditional social welfare objectives of the Labor Party, serious feuding erupted. Although forced to resign from the ministry late last year, Mr. Douglas retained sufficient support within the parliamentary party to be returned to the cabinet in July. This pressure, and health problems, prompted Mr. Lange to resign.

There were signs, even before that, that the economy was improving, and with it the government's chances of re-election in 1990. They include a greatly improved trade performance, declining inflation and interest rates, a reduction in the budget deficit and an upturn in the farm sector.

But the government has alienated

many traditional Labor supporters by selling state assets, reducing spending on education, cutting health services and joining Australia in an agreement to acquire German-designed frigates for the navy. Nonetheless, Mr. Palmer appears to be firmly in control. And with a mixture of caution, moderation and administrative competence, he is gaining respect by seeking to settle national problems by balancing economic and social objectives.

Mr. Palmer is helped by the lackluster showing of the National Party opposition, which has been split over its approach to race relations and economic policy.

Mr. Palmer has reaffirmed New Zealand's adherence to an anti-nuclear policy, which prompted the United States to withdraw its security guarantee to New Zealand under the ANZUS mutual defense treaty. Public-opinion surveys show that this is one policy where the Labor government clearly enjoys majority support.

The writer is senior lecturer in politics at the Victoria University, Wellington. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

The writer is chief political correspondent for The Age newspaper, Melbourne. She contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1889: Disquiet Brewing

BERLIN—Great discontent has been created in Bavaria by the announcement that the Finance Minister proposes to increase the tax on malt, which would mean a rise in the price of Bavarian beer. It is well to remember that what amounted to a revolution was once started in Bavaria through beer becoming dearer. The Beer Riots of 1848 were forerunners to the disturbances that led to the abdication of Louis I.

1914: The Paris Bomber

PARIS—The "Times" correspondent at Stockholm has received a letter in which an interesting account is given of a conversation with Lieutenant Werner of the German Flying Corps, who dropped bombs on Paris. Attached to General von Kluck's army he was directed to fly over the French capital and drop bombs where they would do the most damage, the Eiffel Tower with its wireless

An Opening If the PLO Will Say Ye

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON—The conflict between Israelis and Palestinians is on the front pages of most newspapers. The drama of the uprising in the West Bank and Gaza is reduced to a few paragraphs recording another 1-year-old shot dead by Israeli soldiers another alleged "collaborator" killed by fellow Palestinians.

The uprising and its repressive have become routine. The chance that a new dynamic could move the parties into the path of negotiation—the chance to change the brutal history of the conflict—is slipping away. It was a real chance. The intifada gave Palestinians in the occupied territories a new self-confidence, of the kind that can make compromise possible. The Palestine Liberation Organization accepted the reality of Israel. The United States began a dialogue with the PLO. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir proposed that the residents of the West Bank and Gaza elect representatives to negotiate with Israel.

To the world, the logic of a political solution seemed more compelling than ever. But on the ground the trend has gone the other way. Both sides have pressed physical confrontation rather than political initiatives.

On the Palestinian side the uprising has taken on a more brutalizing character, no doubt inevitably. The remarkable communal unity that marked it from the start has shown signs of giving way to unity enforced by threat. More and more asserted "collaborators" have been named and murdered. Some observers believe the PLO has lost influence to young activists and Islamic fundamentalists.

Israel's strategy has been to put down protest by force, not to deal with Palestinian national feelings.

In the 21 months of the intifada, Israeli forces have killed more than 550 Palestinians, deported dozens, blown up hundreds of homes. More than 40,000 Palestinians have been in prison at one time or another, most of them held without trial. The standard period of detention has just been doubled, from six months to a year.

The result is an ugly stalemate. Israel cannot make the Palestinians stop their protest, because it cannot destroy an idea—the longing for political identity. Israeli generals have been saying that to the government, to no avail. Lieutenant General Dan Shomron, chief of staff, said last year that the intifada could be ended only by removal "of the Arab population, starvation or physical elimination—that is, genocide."

But if Israel cannot put down the intifada by any force short of ultimate brutality, neither can the Palestinians achieve their hopes by the mere fact of continuing it.

The responsibility for missed chances lies on both sides. But I think there is a special burden on the Palestinians now to try to break the stalemate. As the weaker party they would naturally resent that idea. But it is where their interest lies.

Many Palestinian leaders have come to understand in the past few years that they must do one thing above all if they are to get out of the occupation and have political rights: persuade Israel that its security and peace lie in the direction of accommodation with them, not domination.

The uprising is not working to that end now. Most Israelis have come to live with it, and to live with the corruption of Israel's own standards of justice that the policy of repression requires. They are not more sympathetic to Palestinian yearnings; if anything they are more hardened.

The only practical way out of the stalemate, I think, is a bold political stroke. That is not going to come from Prime Minister Shamir, who can live indefinitely with the present situation. It has to come from the PLO. In practical terms it has to be a step to accept the Israeli election proposal.

The PLO has criticized Mr. Shamir for hedging the election idea so much. But the PLO has made it easy for Mr. Shamir by insisting on a condition of its own: that elections must be a step toward a Palestinian state. Demanding to know the end before a negotiation starts cannot work.

President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt has put forward ideas to get the parties into a negotiation. Mr. Shamir does not like them, but he has been able to waffle because the PLO has been negative. Now a divided Israeli cabinet has agreed at last to send the defense minister, Yitzhak Rabin, to Cairo for talks on the proposal.

An intifada that sacrifices young lives without bringing about political negotiation cannot be justified. It is time for the Palestinians to say ye.

The New York Times

installation being the special objective. He dropped newspapers among crowds of people denying war news detrimental to German Arms. He next dropped two bombs which, the aviator declares, were effective.

1939: Warsaw Holds On

PARIS—Warsaw was still a Polish city last night [Sept. 18] despite intense artillery and aerial bombardment throughout the day. British Broadcasting Corporation radio reports announced. There was evidence that the answering fire of the Polish guns was lessening as munitions stocks ran low. A conflicting report from Berlin asserted that there had been no attacks on the Polish capital yesterday. A Polish broadcast last night denied German announcements that the German high command had sent an ultimatum to Warsaw demanding that Polish negotiators be sent to arrange an armistice with the alternative that the city be again bombed.

OPINION

This Rattling of Tin Cups Is a Threat to Federalism

By William Safire

WASHINGTON—Theodore Roosevelt convened the nation's governors on the challenge of conservation; Franklin Roosevelt assembled them to help cope with the Great Depression; George Bush has called them together next week—for only the third time in U.S. history—and this time the subject is education.

A conclave in Charlottesville, Virginia, of the U.S. chief executives and all

The last thing America needs is governors begging for unaccounted funds and foolishly trading diversity for standardization.

the states' chief executives offers a great constitutional forum, a kind of executive convention. All concerned are rubbing their hands in delight.

For George Bush, it is a way to show he is the "education president" he promised to be, bully-pulpitizing, listening with ostentatious deference, ultimately splitting all the differences.

For the media, it is an assignment editor's paradise: time to plan features, book guests, prepare new boilerplate. Most coverage will dutifully hang on the peg of the Agreed-Upon Topic A, and conclusions are preordained: not enough money to meet the crisis.

For the education lobby, it's an opportunity to complain from the television sidelines and pass the buck to the taxpayer for education's own glaring inadequacies.

For the governors, the internal summit is a moment to stand in the national spotlight, to place a state concern on the national publicity schedule and to disperse local criticism for failure to meet local needs.

Nobody seems to sense the danger in this grand conflation: If all we hear is the sound of 50 rattling tin cups, and if all we see is the spectacle of a demand for leadership from Washington, then we will witness a voluntary power shift from the states to the national government.

Is it alarmist to warn of an abdication of executive authority? Am I being a skunk at the garden party for worrying about the decline of federalism?

Listen to the declaration of Governor Carroll Campbell, a Republican, one of the chosen leaders of the gath-

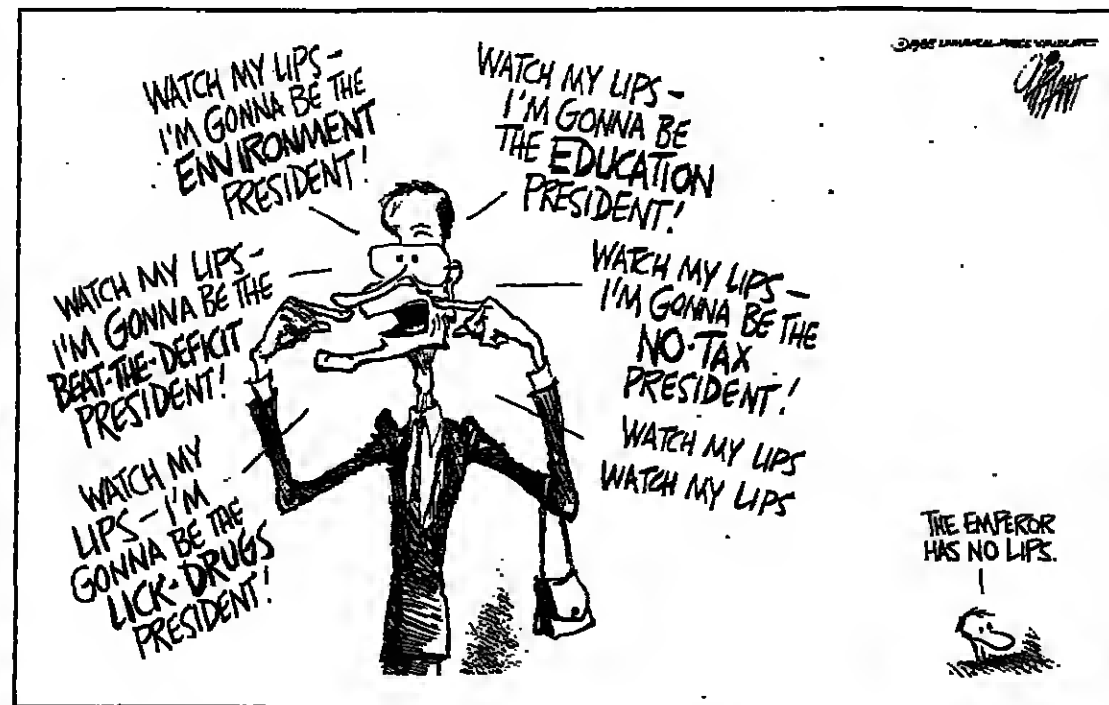
ering: "It is a national summit, not a federal summit. This is a summit to focus on... the role of the federal government."

That is from the governor of South Carolina, where state's rights and responsibilities were once held to be important. Governor Buddy Roemer of Louisiana has a two-word message for the president: "Send money!" From the summit's co-leader, Governor Bill Clinton—a Democrat from Arkansas, whose speech lobotomized his party's last convention—comes a call for "a bipartisan national plan to rescue the nation's educational system" involving "a national set of performance goals."

Hold on, everybody. It is not the same to say "the quality of education is a problem throughout the nation," which it probably is, and "education is a national problem," which it is surely not.

One approach is federalist and the other is nationalist, a great difference exists between the balance of central and localized authority, which is the genius of the federal system, and untrammeled central control flowing from the power to finance, which is an efficient but unstable form of government.

If the governors troubled to read the 1983 report, "A Nation at Risk," they would know that school reform must begin at the local level. America needs teacher testing to weed out in-



competent, longer school years for productivity, double the high school homework, more rigorous requirements for graduation from high school and admission to college, and above all competition within the system—vouchers, parent choice, rewards for successful schools and public exposure of diploma factories.

The last thing America needs is the spectacle of state executives lining up to end-run their own taxpayers by begging for unaccounted funds and fool-

ishly trading diversity for standardization.

As a nation, America rightly spends more of its GNP on education than on defense; on elementary and secondary schools, public and private, Americans spend almost one-third more in real dollars today than they spent a decade ago; the problem is that the governors are not spending it intelligently.

Here is Political Science 101 for student governors: the "federal role" in education is the Head Start Project,

materials for the handicapped, defense-related science scholarships, ensuring civil rights, touting successes and finger-pointing at laggards, and that's about it.

The state, local and private role is everything else, especially including the computer frontier, and it is not for you to throw away your power or your constituents' freedom. Bake your diverse breads, gubernatorial summits, and pass up those federal rolls.

The New York Times

Words From Here and There — Rigorously Put in Place

By Theodore Levitt

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts—I grew up in a small farm town in Germany where all of us spoke an ungrammatical version of *Plattdeutsch*, or Low German. In our two-room school house, we were taught, with the discipline of a stick, to speak and write *Hoch-*

textualized" approach to teaching—for example, accepting the use of "black English" in the classroom to help black children learn their lessons more readily than via an imposed standard English. The rationale is that they would be more comfortable learning in the dialect of their families and their streets.

MEANWHILE

deutsch, or High German—the German version of the "Queen's English."

When I was 10 years old, my family, none of us knowing any English, came to Dayton, Ohio, and lived in what would now be called a slum neighborhood. I learned English on the streets—the crude language of poorly educated migrants from Appalachia.

"Briarhoppers," they were called contemptuously. But in elementary school, we learned to speak and write standard English, with regular rigorous drills in grammar.

Not long ago, Prince Charles attacked a British government committee report that recommended against the "too early" teaching of standard English to schoolchildren. The committee advocated toleration of the children's own "equally valid" irregular forms of English, such as "he ain't" and "done good."

This echoed a long-standing debate in America. Most recently, the chairman of the National Association for the Teaching of English argued in favor of a "con-

The same God saved us all from being permanently disabled by the stupid good intentions of uncouth educationists—who, one supposes, were never young in the streets or experienced the exhilaration and rewards of getting corrected in standard public schools.

The writer, a professor of business administration at Harvard University, is editor of the *Harvard Business Review*. He contributed this view to *The New York Times*.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Polish Victims of 2 Faiths

Granted, as Patrick J. Buchanan writes (*"Christians and Auschwitz," Letters, Sept. 14*), that of the six million killed during World War II, about half were Roman Catholic.

Granted that each non-Jewish death or injury was equally as tragic and unjust and that each non-Jewish life equally as valuable as a Jewish one.

But Mr. Buchanan misses the essential difference. The Jews were killed just for being Jews. The others were killed, deliberately or not, for a variety of reasons, but—with the exception of the Gypsies—rarely if ever for being a member of a particular religious or ethnic group. This gives the Jewish experience a special meaning, and it justifies the sometimes excessive emotionalism.

Al Rossum (*Letters, Sept. 14*) appears to understand the nuances of evil better than Mr. Buchanan does. Perhaps Mr. Buchanan should talk to a wise and sensitive priest.

MICHAEL DOUGLAS,
Paris.

It must be reassuring for Mr. Buchanan to believe that the Nazis alone were at

fault for the *shoah*. But it is difficult to ignore, as he does, the roots of the matter: nearly 20 centuries of church teaching of contempt, from which the Inquisition, pogroms and *shoah* arose.

MIGUEL EISENFELD,
Saint-Denis, France.

Mr. Buchanan asserts that the Jews were not killed by Christians but by pagans. Why were they pagans, if not because of a profound failure in the Christian churches?

G. S. TROLLER,
Paris.

The report "Removal of Auschwitz Cross Urged" (*Sept. 9*) states that the refusal of the Polish Church to honor the 1987 agreement to remove the ruins from Auschwitz has angered Jews across the world. Not only Jews are angered, but millions of non-Jews too.

G. GIBBEL,
Colombo.

Poland, throughout its history, has been a Roman Catholic country. But it became the home to numerous minorities, including the largest Jewish population in the world. Minorities were drawn

to Poland by political tolerance and religious freedom unparalleled in Europe.

While there were sporadic tensions in the 1930s caused by economic considerations, they can hardly obliterate the overall harmonious and prosperous history of Polish Jews dating from 1247, the time of the first Jewish edict issued by the Prince of Mazovia.

The Nazi bestiality of World War II changed all that. Yet Polish resistance fighters under threat of death aided more Jews during World War II than any other resistance or government.

To accuse the Polish Church of profanation of Auschwitz exposes the misguided hostility of zealots. It is a disturbing epilogue to 700 years of Polish-Jewish co-existence.

ANDREW WILLMAN,
Toronto.

Auschwitz should be ringed by convents and monasteries of all faiths and prayers should be offered not for those who perished in the camp, but in expiation for all those in the world who allowed the atrocity to happen.

E. E. P. STEIN,
Johannesburg.

The Doctor's Monkeys Are Still Not Free

By Cleveland Amory

NEW YORK—Ask an American experimenter about the animals in his laboratory. Nine times out of 10 he will tell you that they are well cared for and that he abides by the Animal Welfare Act passed by Congress in 1966.

What he will not say is that he and his colleagues fought the act and the amendments to it every step of the way; that, under the act, his laboratory is inspected at most (if at all) once a year; that when his animals are under experimentation, the act does not apply. Nor will he say that many laboratories ignore the act's most important amendment, passed in 1986, which mandates that at least one member of the public vote on the laboratory's animal care committee.

Having been for so long sole judge and jury of what they do, experimenters believe that they are above any law. A prime example is the case of the monkeys in Silver Spring, Maryland. The monkeys were used in experiments in which nerves in their limbs were removed and stimuli—including electrical shocks and flames—were applied to see if they could still use their appendages.

Dr. Edward Taub, who ran the laboratory, was tried and found guilty, not of cruelty to animals but of maintaining a filthy lab. Maryland is one of many states that exempt U.S.-funded experiments from cruelty charges. Dr. Taub is today a free man. His monkeys, however, are not. They are still in a laboratory under the jurisdiction of the National Institutes of Health, which funded these cruel experiments.

Researchers at Louisiana State University, under an eight-

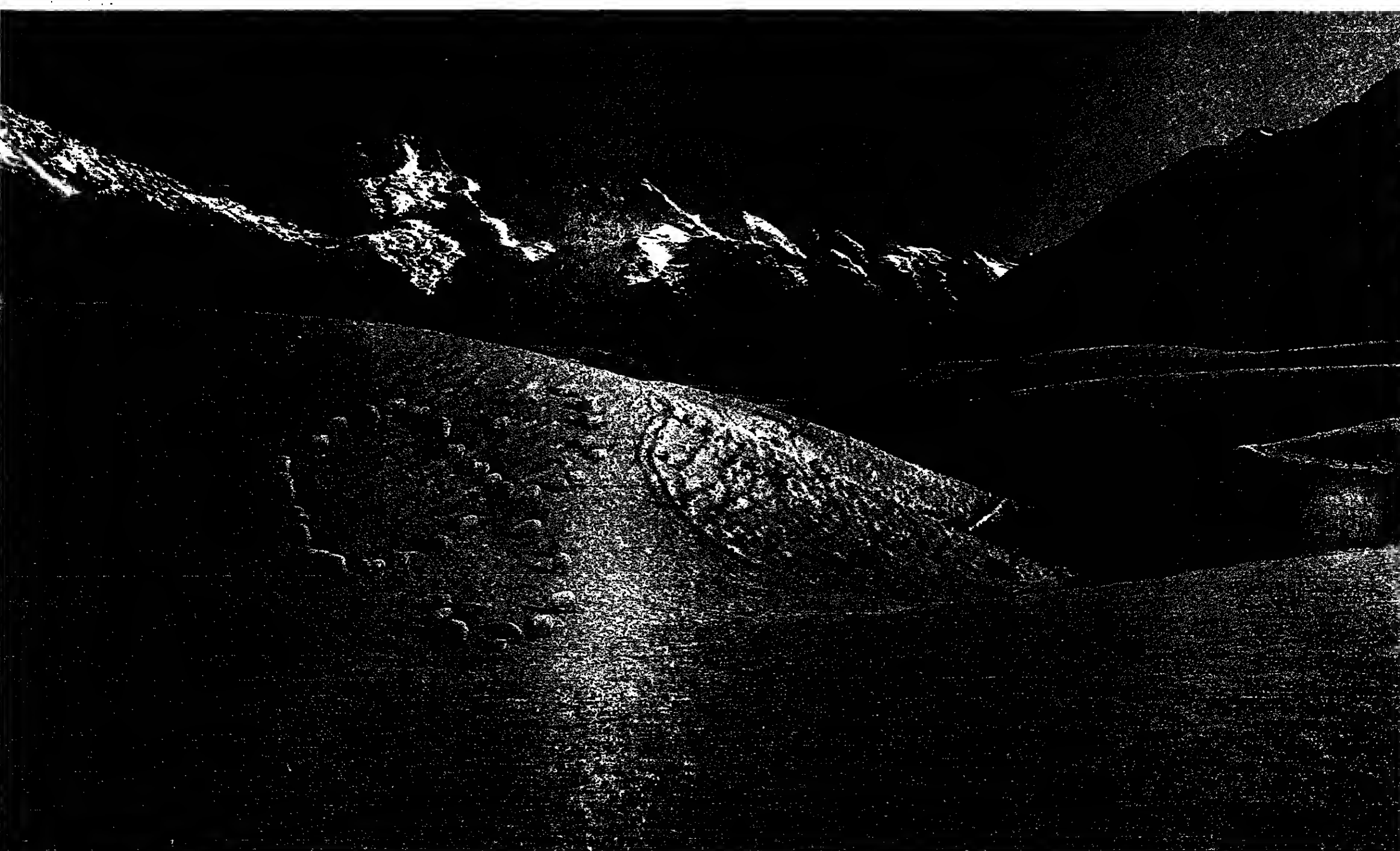
year, \$2 million Defense Department contract, put cats in vices, remove part of their skulls and then shoot them in the head. The experimenters say that their purpose is to find a way to return brain-wounded soldiers to active duty. But Dr. Donald Doll of Truman Veterans Hospital in Columbia, Missouri, said, "I can find nothing which supports applying any of this data to humans."

At the University of Oregon, under a 17-year, \$1.5 million grant, psychologists surgically rotated the eyes of kittens, implanted electrodes in their brains and forced them to jump onto a block in a pan of water to test their equilibrium. These experiments resulted in a laboratory break-in in 1986, and the trial and conviction of one of the animals' liberators.

During the trial, experimenters were unable to cite a single case in which their research had benefited humans. Additional testimony revealed instances of cats being inadequately anesthetized while having their eye muscles cut, untrained and unlicensed personnel performing the surgery and mother cats suffering stress that they ate their babies.

The trial judge, Edwin Allen, stated that the testimony was "disturbing to me as a citizen of this state." He added, "It would be highly appropriate to have these facilities opened to the public." It would, indeed—and a judge is just what is needed. A judge first, then a jury. The experimenters have been both long enough.

The writer, president of the Fund for Animals, is author of *"The Cat Who Came For Christmas."* He contributed this comment to *The New York Times*.



THAI, TWICE A WEEK TO NEW ZEALAND.

New Zealand. Land of the long, white cloud. Land of rugged mountain ranges, lush green fields, wonderful waterways and sophisticated cities. A land that offers its visitors a stunning choice of things to do and places to go. And now Thai lands there twice a week. Departing from Bangkok for Christchurch and on to Auckland every Wednesday (arrives Thursday), and direct from Bangkok to Auckland every Saturday (arrives Sunday). Thai. Centuries-old traditions. State-of-the-art technology.

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ARTS / LEISURE

Giorgio Armani, the Thinker

International Herald Tribune
PARIS — Giorgio Armani is thinking — not just about his show staged Monday night at the Musée Rodin but also about the sculptor himself.

"When I work, my people always say that I look like 'Le Penseur,'" says Armani, posing beside Ro-

SUZY MENKES

din's famous work. "I feel that the museum goes with my collection, with its image of calm and tranquility. The stone itself, no-color grays, the verdigris that is a soft green rather than hard — they are all my kind of colors."

This is Giorgio Armani's first show in Paris since he opened his store on the Place Vendôme three years ago. It is designed as a tribute to loyal French clients, who, along with an international audience, will see the current collection.

"And it is fun for me to see

clients wearing the same outfits that are shown on the podium," says Armani.

The guests who walk through the gardens with their graceful, illuminated statues to see the fashion show include more French counts

risotto as a first course to the 400-seat dinner, staged in a tent, transformed by a ceiling glittering with lights like an alfresco night sky and by towering trees of pale blue horsetails. Giorgio Armani supervised the decoration, working with Paris

garde, now presents his collection at the Paris ready-to-wear shows. Gianni Versace will stage a couture show in France next season.

If Giorgio Armani ever quit Milan, the Italian shows would be Hamlet without the prince. He will not be drawn on the subject.

"That is a different story altogether," he says. "I love Paris and I would like to have an apartment here. I never have enough time in this city."

He will open an Emporio Armani store, the fastest-growing part of his fashion empire, in Paris in January.

"And I want that to be in the French spirit," he says. "I have told the architect not to open up the facade. I don't want to do something which doesn't respect the look of the street."

Armani's clothes have a classicism and a purity, and a respect for cut and materials, that is much more comprehensible to the Parisian than the more glitzy Milanese style. He is dressed in his own basics: impeccable white pants, a plain navy round-necked sweater, brown suede shoes. Yet fashion seems to be moving away from the philosophy of simplicity and a pared-down silhouette, toward something more decorative.

"I think that a lot of what is happening now is a bit exaggerated," says Armani. "I also wanted to make a personal statement within my own spirit. Why not let women choose to do something more exotic? But I don't believe in pushing that too much or it becomes theater. It needs an equilibrium. In my new collection I hope that I have returned to a spirit of purity, but with amusement."

As the cream of society — what the French call *le grain* — comes to Armani in the world's fashion capital, the 55-year-old designer could be forgiven for thinking of it as a personal triumph. But he is reflecting among the Rodins instead, about life.

"I have white hair and I have learned now to distance myself," he says. "I know how to stand away from problems. I live in a whirlpool of life. I now what it is like to juggle too many things. Every day I say to myself that today I am alive. Tomorrow, anything might happen. I live each day."

Fashion Calendar

The calendars of the international fashion shows prove that Paris is becoming a mecca and may ultimately seduce buyers away from other venues. There are 60 collections in the French ready-to-wear



Designer Armani at the Rodin Museum.

showings Oct. 17 to 25. The shows are grouped, with junior and fledgling designers at the opening, the avant-garde showing through the weekend and the couturiers showing in the second week. Of these, Gianfranco Ferré will show his first ready-to-wear line for Dior on Oct. 23. Christian Lacroix will show on his own premises, rather than in the customary circus tents.

The Milan collections have caused some discussion by running through the Jewish holiday of the

Day of Atonement. They open Saturday Oct. 7 and close on Oct. 12. The London shows start Oct. 13 and close with a gala fashion presentation in front of Diana, Princess of Wales, on Oct. 16. Katharine Hammett, London's wackiest designer, is defecting to Paris to show on Sunday Oct. 22.

Meanwhile, Spain is bidding for a slice of the international action with 15 runway shows in Madrid under the auspices of the Comité de Moda Oct. 27 to 29.

'Stéphanie': Essence Of a Princess

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The sweet smell of excess surrounds Princess Stéphanie of Monaco. Now she has put the essence of herself into a bottle. "Stéphanie" the fragrance goes on sale in France next month.

"I've done this fragrance with my whole heart," said Stéphanie Monday, holding court at the Ritz hotel surrounded by perfumers and "noses."

"I love my fragrance like I love my records. My perfume is myself." The real Stéphanie has always been difficult to spot behind the raunchy rock star in black leather, the statuesque model promoting her swimsuit line and the occasional dutiful do-gooder in Monaco.

Today, Prince Rainier's wild child is doing her best to be businesslike, in a power-shouldered anthracite-gray Yves Saint Laurent suit. A vast poster behind her shows the princess at her most strikingly androgynous — slicked hair, square jaw, little black dress plunging to the waist with the fragrance poised before her cleavage.

The promotional film, by contrast, has Stéphanie at work nosing out the fragrances and choosing the bottle with its ribbed glass drapes. ("You can see from the Pool Position swimwear line that I like drapes," she says.)

So the perfume is sexy? "Young, sensual, elegant and sexy," says Stéphanie.

A spicy, exotic aroma rises above the flowers.

"It's even a bit Oriental," explains the "nose" Jacques Polge, who worked for two years to capture the essence of a princess.

"Mediterranean people are warm," says Stéphanie, whose recent appearances in tabloid newspapers have been pretty hot stuff. "It is true of all the sunshine places. Even in Los Angeles, the people are different from those who live in Chicago, where it's cold."

The princess now lives in California, spending "half my life" on airplanes. She talks in a little-girl voice, grinning at the attendant paparazzi, an innocent silver bracelet on one arm, one ear studded with a sophisticated diamond heart and two satellite stones.

The fragrance is made by Bourjois, France's brand leader in cosmetics and a company linked with Chanel perfumes. Internationally, its best known



Stéphanie the princess.

fragrance is the mass-market Soin de Paris. Stéphanie, offered in three different sizes of can de parfum, sells from 106 to 173 francs (about \$16 to \$26). These are not royal prices and the distribution will also be in regular stores, rather than exclusive outlets. A launch in the United States next year is currently being considered.

"The market for designer fragrances is saturated," says Antoine Housset, director of Bourjois. "We knew that Princess Stéphanie used Bourjois cosmetics, and we took our courage in both hands and approached her. We wanted a fragrance that was young and accessible for the 1990s. If you look at the youth market for perfume, you see that they are all appealing to the romantic side, and we wanted something stronger."

In a market where models command million-dollar salaries for putting their faces to a product, does Princess Stéphanie have an important contract? That remains a tight royal secret. — SUZY MENKES



Karl Lagerfeld

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lifestyle

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A Prodigal Prodigy's Return to Japan

By David E. Sanger

New York Times Service

TOKYO — Midori, the 17-year-old violinist who has risen to stardom in the United States but is still relatively unknown in her homeland, returned to Japan with the New York Philharmonic to critical acclaim — and with an uneasy sense of being a visitor here.

In Osaka and Tokyo, Midori received huge ovations, at least by restrained Japanese standards, for her solos with the Philharmonic. Between performances, Japan tried to figure out why this promising young talent, who first played with the Philharmonic when she was 10, felt she had to leave Japan for her artistic development.

"I like Japan and I like coming back," Midori said Thursday, still a bit tired from the previous night's performance of the Dvorak concerto at Suntory Hall. "But I am received more as a visiting artist who happened to be born in Japan."

Indeed, many Japanese musicians and critics have a lurking sense that Midori might have remained undiscovered in Japan.

where the training regimen for young talent is carefully paced. But in New York in 1982, Midori — she was born Midori Goto but uses only her first name — quickly came to the attention of Zubin Mehta, the Philharmonic's music director.

Japan was the last stop in the six-country tour, which cost just short of \$3 million. The orchestra played in Hong Kong, gave a performance for 60,000 people in Singapore, where a shell was built in front of the city hall, and played for some of Thailand's royalty.

Audiences marveled at the performances and the orchestra marveled back at the concert halls, the most visible symbol of how Asia is challenging the West in its performing arts centers.

To some members of the orchestra, the best night was the last, Thursday evening, when the program included an American composer, Ellen Taaffe Zwilich's "Symphony," and works by Mozart and Rimsky-Korsakov.

The tour was paid for in part by

Citibank/Citibank. In Japan the support came largely from the overflow crowds in Osaka and Tokyo, where the tickets were snapped up in hours despite prices up to \$100 a seat.

Midori was not the only one who found the trip a kind of homecoming. Ham Hui-yung, a 27-year-old violinist in the orchestra, who left Seoul 12 years ago for the Juilliard School, played in a chamber music concert and gave a master class at Seoul National University.

She was startled to find that her Asian audiences "were at a little higher level" than some of her audiences in the United States and were quite familiar with most of the Western music she played.

Midori's return was more complicated. She has little contact with her Japanese family, she said, except for her mother, who lives with her in New York and came on the tour.

She was something of an enigma to the Japanese. At a press conference here before her performance,

she took questions in Japanese but answered in English, saying she was not confident enough in her first language to answer precisely.

And in a country where 17-year-old women are expected to be deferential and demure, she did not hesitate to express strong opinions, joking with Mehta and calling him Zubin instead of the formal titles Japanese use for teachers.

"I consider myself a New Yorker and say so," she said. The independent course she took, leaving Osaka to seek a mentor in New York, is something many people here find hard to accept. Like Japanese students who have studied abroad, she feels a little uncomfortable returning. "Sometimes I feel the jealousy of others when I am in Japan — quite often in fact," she said.

Once she started playing, however, doubts about Midori seemed to melt away.

In Tokyo on Wednesday night she was called back to the stage seven times. "It went very well," she said. "I was very relieved."

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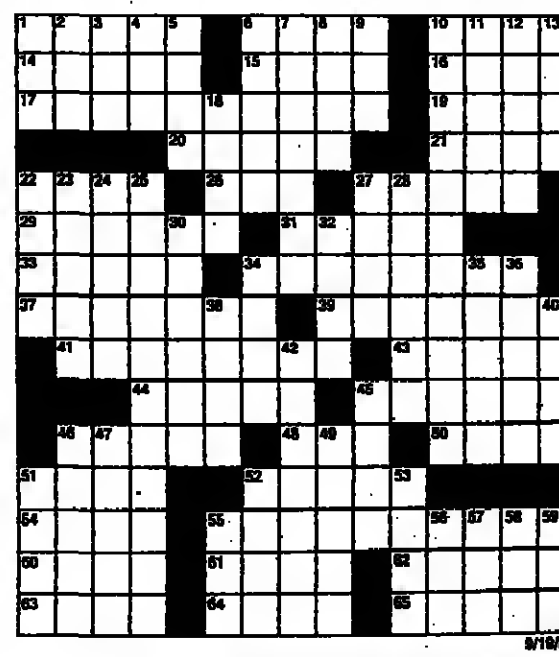
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ACROSS

1 State of NE India
 6 Attention
 10 Kilauea output
 14 Rent
 16 Dry
 16 Black, to Byron
 17 Hands on hips
 18 Proceeds
 20 U.S. satellite
 21 Dither
 22 Hang around idly
 26 Hawaiian dish
 27 Kind of down
 29 From side to side
 31 Straight: Comb. form
 33 Make movies
 34 Inclination
 37 Canopies
 39 Dajcated
 41 Gives ground
 43 Dermises
 44 Overgrown wasteland
 45 Brother of Grete
 46 Biblical neither world
 48 Opp. of WSW
 50 Kind of job
 51 Punctura
 52 Kind of serum
 54 Half: Prefix
 55 Measure up
 60 Famed office
 61 Part of Q.E.D.
 62 Inavgorate
 63 Oaken bucket's milieu

DOWN

1 A neighbor of Fla.
 2 Weight of India
 3 Newsmen
 4 Donaldson
 5 Silly one
 5 Butcher's stock
 6 Egypt's big city
 7 Large wardrobe
 8 Pokes fun at
 9 Tokyo, once
 10 Al Capone contemporary
 11 Diminish
 12 Election Day figure
 13 Yet again
 14 Untanned hides of young animals
 22 Endure
 23 Pigment for a palette
 24 Came up
 25 Pay a tab
 27 Bk. of the Bible
 28 Cornell's locale
 30 Music-room item
 32 Spanish queen's namesakes
 34 School exam
 35 Vikings
 36 Puts to the proof
 38 Genuine
 40 With 51 Down, Donahue program
 42 At that place



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Solution to Previous Puzzle

CHEERS HOWE AMS
 REGRET OVEN SAM
 ONEIDA SERA PRO
 REIS TREBLING
 RHEA LACES
 AGAPE AGATES
 RELIC GERE ALOE
 PALATAL DAGGERS
 ALAS NERO ANTIS
 TOTTER RAISE
 OWNER ISER
 POORMANS LONG
 TOO EGOS OTJOSE
 EDS RURU PEANUT
 DYE SEME ESSENE

BUSINESS BRIEFS

Hoylelake Extends Its Offer for BAT

LONDON (Combined Dispatches) — Hoylelake Investments Ltd., led by Sir James Goldsmith, said Monday that it had extended its £13.5 billion (£20.8 billion) offer for BAT Industries PLC until Sept. 29, and that it and friendly parties have acceptances for about 2.3 percent of BAT.

Hoylelake said that, as of Sept. 15, it had received acceptances for its offer totaling 706,768 BAT ordinary shares, or 0.05 percent, while Hoylelake and parties acting with it owned some 34.62 million shares, or about 2.27 percent.

Macmillan Buying U.S. Publisher

LONDON (Reuters) — Maxwell Communication Corp. said Monday that its wholly owned U.S. subsidiary Macmillan Inc. was acquiring Merrill Publishing from Bell & Howell Inc. of the United States for \$260 million cash.

Maxwell had sought a large stake in Bell & Howell in 1987, but the company was later bought out by a group formed by Robert M. Bass Group Inc., the U.S. investment concern, and Bell & Howell management.

Industrial Equity Doubles Net Profit

WELLINGTON (Reuters) — Industrial Equity (Pacific) Ltd. said Monday its net profit in the year ended June 30 doubled from the year earlier, to 1.53 billion New Zealand dollars (\$900 million), from 765.3 million dollars.

The Hong Kong-based company, which is 70 percent owned by Brierley Investments Ltd., attributed much of the gain to sales of shares in Calmat Co. and Ultramar PLC, and cautioned about possible future volatility in its earnings.

Industrial Equity invested modestly in European stocks in anticipation of devaluation after 1992, and said Europe would become "a more significant area of activity" for it. In late 1988, Industrial Equity took stakes in Galeries Lafayette and Bazar de L'Hôtel de Ville, or BHV, leading French department-store chains.

Swire Pacific Negotiates 5-Year Loan

HONG KONG (Reuters) — Swire Pacific Ltd., the trading company, said Monday it had negotiated its first underwritten loan, a five-year, 1.5 billion dollar (\$192.1 million) facility in the form of transferable loan certificates.

A Swire spokesman, David Bell, confirmed reports that the issue would be priced at 25 basis points above the Hong Kong interbank offered rate. Mr. Bell said the loan would be used "mainly for property development," which disappointed those who had speculated about a connection with plans to develop a new airport in Hong Kong.

Crédit Lyonnais Capital for CDC

PARIS (Reuters) — Crédit Lyonnais is making an agreed 1.5 billion franc (\$225 million) capital increase reserved for placement with Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations and priced at 915 francs per share, the bank said Monday.

The increase will give the CDC, the state-controlled clearing system of the French savings banks, a stake of 5.38 percent in Crédit Lyonnais.

The French government, anxious to inject new capital into the remaining nationalized banks, ordered the CDC in early summer to take the stake.

Pacific Dunlop's Earnings Increase

MELBOURNE (Reuters) — The diversified industrial group Pacific Dunlop Ltd. said Monday its annual net profit in the year to June rose 41.6 percent, but it also increased its gearing.

Net profit increased to 263.28 million Australian dollars (\$204.3 million) on a 25 percent sales rise, to 4.49 billion dollars, said the managing director Philip Brass.

With two major acquisitions during the year — the Repco motor parts and leisure-goods business in Australia, and the Edmont rubber-gloves operation in the United States — Pacific Dunlop's gearing rose to 61.1 percent from 29.3 percent a year earlier.

For the Record

Sears, Roebuck & Co. declined comment Monday on a published report that Olympia & York Developments Ltd. had withdrawn a \$1.05 billion bid for the Sears Tower in Chicago and that the U.S. retailer was re-evaluating plans to sell the headquarters building.

Satchi and Satchi PLC said Monday that the U.S. investment management concern Southeastern Asset Management Inc. had increased its stake in the world's largest advertising and communications group to 10.2 percent from 9.4 percent.

Seiyu Buys 40% Stake In Wing On Store Chain

HONG KONG — Wing On Co. has agreed to sell 40 percent of its wholly owned department store chain to Seiyu Ltd. of Tokyo for 356 million Hong Kong dollars (\$45.6 million) in cash, Hambro Pacific Ltd., Wing On's financial adviser, said Monday.

Hambro said that the two companies had signed a conditional agreement on the 40 percent sale of Wing On Department Stores (Bermuda) Ltd., the holding company for Wing On Co.'s department stores. The price values the chain at about 890 million dollars.

"The sale is not totally unexpected," said Ernest She, analyst at James Capel & Co. Wing On had been seeking a partner "for some time."

Analysts say a partnership with an aggressive retailer like Seiyu could help repair Wing On's image as a stodgy, family-owned business that has not kept pace with the formidable competition posed by an influx of major Japanese retailers to the territory.

Seiyu is capitalized at the equivalent of about \$2.65 billion. It reported turnover equivalent to \$7.24 billion for the year ended Feb. 28, 1989. Wing On Co. is capitalized at 800 million dollars (\$102.5 million). It reported turnover of 1.24 billion dollars for 1988.

"Seiyu brings considerable financial muscle and retailing expertise to the partnership," said Ian Hardy of Hambro.

About 83 percent of Wing On Co.'s turnover is from its nine department stores, 6 percent from hotels and 7 percent from real-estate holdings. Various interests make up the remainder.

The property and hotels concern Wing On (Holdings) Ltd. owns 60 percent of Wing On Co.

Earlier this year, New World Development Co. on two occasions offered 17 Hong Kong cents a share through its wholly owned unit Prime Harbor Ltd. for the 72.8 percent of Wing On Holdings stock it did not already own. The offer was rejected on both occasions.

Wing On Holdings' share price closed 20 cents higher on Monday at 11.10 dollars a share. Wing On Co. was unchanged at 7.65 dollars in a strong market. Prices on the Hong Kong Stock Exchange ended firmer for the day, having been boosted in active morning trading by the reappearance of Deng Xiaoping, the Chinese leader, who had been absent from public for more than three months. Late profit-taking trimmed some of the early gains.

Banks Agree to Rescue Co-op

Retailer Calls Off Receivership Bid After Last-Ditch Deal

FRANKFURT — The troubled West German retail chain, Co-op AG, on Monday withdrew its application for receivership after some of its creditor banks agreed to a last-ditch rescue plan.

A spokesman for the Frankfurt district court confirmed that the application was withdrawn after a meeting of the banks early in the morning.

A spokesman for Deutsche Genossenschaftsbank AG said that enough of Co-op's creditors had agreed to the rescue plan, suggested by DG Bank last week, for it to be workable. But 100 percent agreement had not been reached, the spokesman added.

Under the plan, Co-op's creditor banks would forgive some 1.7 billion Deutsche marks (\$860.3 million) of the retailer's 2.27 billion DM in unsecured claims. The remaining 25 percent is due to be paid out by the end of the month.

The spokesman did not say how many banks did not agree with the plan, nor did he identify them. In its original form, the plan called for DG Bank to be Co-op's principal owner.

Co-op filed for receivership late on Tuesday after its creditor banks twice rejected rescue plans to reduce the firm's financing gap of

2.73 billion DM at the end of August.

At the end of 1988, Co-op's equity totaled 676 million DM.

"It was a hard struggle," said Hans Friderichs, Co-op's supervisory board chairman, as he left the meeting with banks, "but we have found a reasonable and good solution."

Separately, Co-op announced that it had sold its 75 percent stake in the leisure group Richter Spiel & Hobby GmbH and all the shares in the sports-goods firm Bienefeld Sport & Freizeit GmbH. The buyer of both was the Limburg-based sports-goods entrepreneur, Karl-Heinz Richter.

Co-op's Japanese creditor banks, in particular, had initially balked at the debt-forgiveness plan because they would be unable to write off losses against taxes if they voluntarily waived claims. Japanese sources had said Friday that an agreement had been reached with Japan's Finance Ministry.

That agreement had several conditions, however, and banking sources said it was the resolution of these points, among others, that had held up the talks between Co-op and its bankers that began Sunday.

Hedge Jan Schmiede, a spokesman for DG Bank, said that Co-op and its six pool banks, which include

its four shareholder banks, would continue working to persuade other banks to accept the plan.

The plan calls for a capital cut at Co-op and a subsequent capital rise. The increase would be guaranteed by DG Bank and Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft, known as BfG, another of Co-op's pool banks.

In exchange, the four shareholder banks, which include Swiss Bank Corp., would transfer their 72 percent stake in Co-op to an independent trustee named by DG Bank.

Asked if Co-op had been saved from bankruptcy and whether a similar crisis could erupt again, Mr. Friderichs said, "I believe we have created a sound and good plan."

The retailer, which employs 46,000 people and has revenue of more than 10 billion DM, was saved from collapse 10 months ago by Swiss Bank.

Co-op was plunged into crisis again one week ago when it declared that it was overindebted. An initial bail-out plan proposed by SBC on Friday, which called for creditor banks to waive 80 percent of their claims, was rejected.

DG Bank is a clearing for West Germany's cooperative banks. A bankruptcy at Co-op would have threatened the existence of Co-op's food suppliers, many of which also bank with DG Bank.

Christie's Stake Sold To Japanese Interests

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PERTH, Australia — The Australia-based businessman Robert Holmes à Court has sold his 7.2 percent interest in the British-based international auction house Christie's International PLC for a profit of more than £10 million (\$15.4 million), a spokesman for Mr. Holmes à Court said Monday.

The buyer, said by market sources to be a Japanese concern, could not be identified. But analysts said the transaction was unlikely to serve as a springboard for a bid for Christie's.

Christopher Davidge, managing director of Christie's, said the company was "very pleased to see Japanese shareholders on our register, as they have a record of being long-term investors."

A stake of 7.2 percent, sold at 304 pence per share, would be worth about £33 million. Mr. Holmes à Court is believed to have accumulated shares in the auction house at an average price of 150 pence before Christmas 1988.

David Grimbley, an analyst with the brokerage UBS/Phillips & Drew in London, said he did not think the sale would quickly lead to a bid for Christie's.

"You always get speculative rumors about Christie's because it is such a high-profile company," Mr. Grimbley said.

Any hostile bidder would confront a number of powerful minority shareholders friendly to the Christie's board, including the shipping magnate Lord Leverhulme, with a stake of more than 5 percent, and the Wallenbergs of Sweden with around 3 percent.

The Japanese have been major players in the market for Impressionist paintings sold by Christie's and Sotheby's in recent years. The stake in Christie's represents an investment "in a company that has directly benefited" from that market's growth, Mr. Grimbley said.

The spokesman at Mr. Holmes à Court's unlisted investment vehicle, Heytesbury Holdings Ltd., said that consideration had been given to a takeover of Christie's, but the auction house was "not the sort of company that sits well with Heytesbury. It doesn't have solid assets. It relies more on its people and its network."

(IHT, Reuters)

Board Games and Champagne: Weapons in the Shuttle War

By Martha H. Hamilton
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — It's September, time for the Battle of the Shuttles.

With summer over and lawyers and brokers and other frequent fliers struggling in from vacation cottages, the competition between the Trump Shuttle and Pan Am air shuttles has taken off.

Depending on whose figures you believe — there are no independent ones — the Washington-New York-Boston market is either evenly divided between the two contenders, or breaks 60 percent to 40 percent for Pan Am. This month both sides are looking to increase their share with hard-hitting advertising and new fringe benefits.

Pan Am got the early jump last week when it launched a new \$5 million ad campaign that features the top-batted character from the board game Monopoly in a not-so-subtle dig at rival Donald Trump, the casino, hotel, and office building owner who bought his shuttle from Eastern Airlines in June.

"On which shuttle will you find the world's most famous investor in real estate, hotels and transportation?" say the advertisements. "We think it's interesting and



Airline shuttle customers, the center of fierce competition between the Trump Shuttle and Pan Am, awaiting a Trump flight.

think it advertises us pretty well," said Bruce R. Nobles, president of the Trump Shuttle, himself a former president of the Pan Am Shuttle. Mr. Nobles said Trump's more

modest ad campaign will be launched in a few weeks.

Don't expect all this competition to lower prices. Because a core of 200,000 well-beeled passengers

tend to fly the shuttle no matter what the fare, a price war serves neither party. Typically the only way prices go is up. The fare currently is \$99.

Pan Am spent several years trying to woo those passengers away from the Eastern Air Shuttle, which invented the business nearly 28 years ago. Before a strike crippled Eastern last March, Pan Am's share of the shuttle market was less than 50 percent. With the strike, it climbed to 75 percent.

Pan Am has retained 60 percent of the market, Pan Am spokeswoman Pamela Hanson said. But Mr. Nobles disputes that figure, claiming that Trump has captured close to 50 percent of the market already.

One piece of information may help in assessing the claims: As of noon Friday the Trump Shuttle had flown about 85 extra sections since Sept. 1, compared with 195 for the Pan Am Shuttle during the same period.

As was the case when Pan Am started its shuttle service in competition with Eastern, the airlines are using dueling amenities to win passenger loyalty. Pan Am trotted out "The Corporate Jet" game during the summer, which included a chance for a grand prize winner to end up with an expense-paid week-

end in Bermuda with 25 friends.

Not to be outdone, Trump last week began offering passengers what it called "four star dining" — a \$25 American Express gift certificate that can be used at any restaurant accepting the American Express card.

Trump is also promising revamped plane interiors with leather seats, a burgundy and gray color scheme, bird's-eye maple veneer and faux marble lavatories. Trump Shuttle pilots and flight attendants are to be put on new tailored uniforms.

Pan Am also has been busy. Last week it opened "The Corporate Jet Business Club" in its new location at Washington National Airport's main terminal. The club boasts

Quotron machines for stock market information, facsimile machines, conference rooms, a video monitoring room — plus free Danish and coffee in the morning and free champagne in the evening.

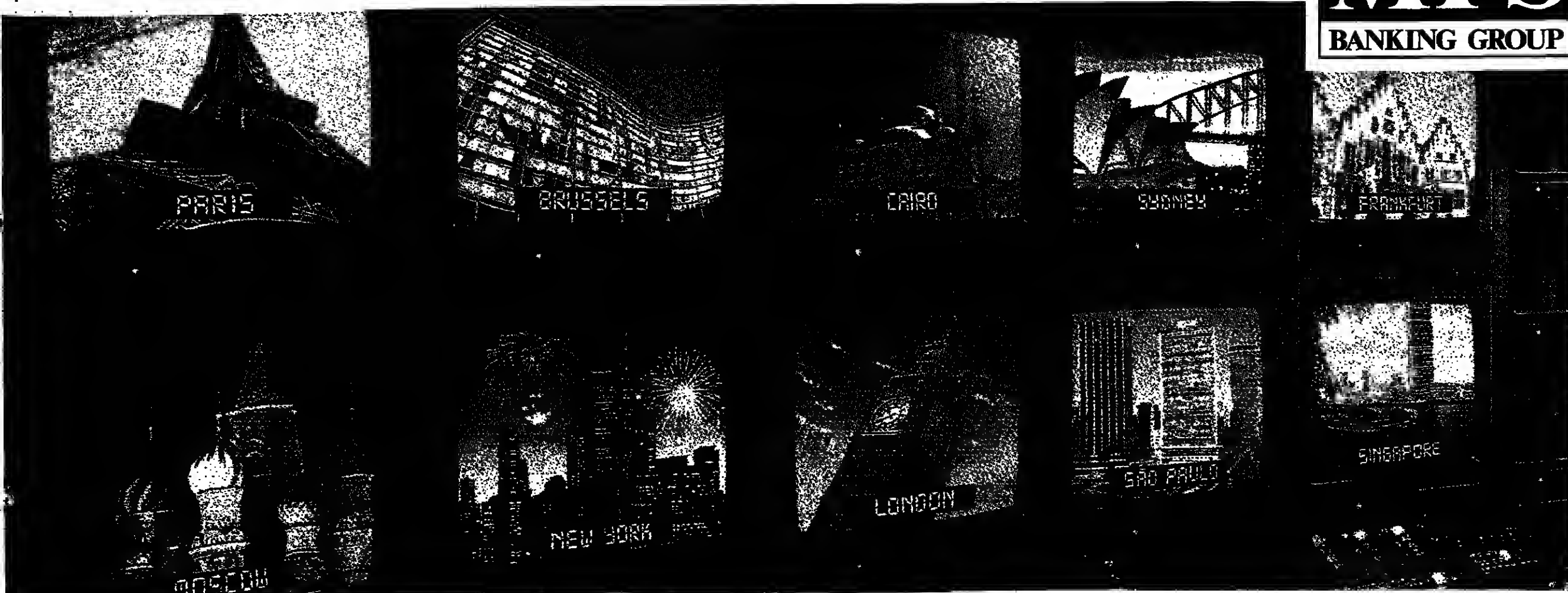
But for all such frills, shuttle passengers often choose their airline because of what time they need to arrive or what time they finish an appointment. Mr. Nobles said that he believes that departures on the hour, rather than on the half-hour, give the Trump Shuttle a marketing edge. Pan Am, naturally, disputes that.

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The advantage of belonging to a group is that each component benefits from the different skills and strengths of the others. They are separate entities and as such meet the needs of their particular markets in their different ways. The end result is more flexibility and versatility for the group as a whole and a wider range of services for its varied clientele. The MPS Banking Group is such a group. It has continued to expand in Italy and throughout the world, to renew and develop its activities and, as a result, to achieve positive financial results year after year. Monte dei Paschi di Siena, Banca Toscana, Credito Commerciale, Credito Lombardo, Banco Valdostano, Istituto Nazionale di Credito per il Lavoro Italiano all'Estero, Italian International Bank, seven banks of different sizes, in different places, with different strategies, but equally committed to one programme, one network. MPS Banking Group has branches and representative offices in New York, London, Paris, Frankfurt, Brussels, Moscow, Singapore, Cairo, São Paulo and, by the end of 1989, also in Madrid, Beijing and Tokyo.

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SPORTS

The Ryder Cup: 'Now There's a Lot of Blood Running Through It'

By Jerry Tarde
New York Times Service

NEW YORK—There are many theories on exactly when the decline of American professional golf began.

Some think it was the day corporate sponsors made every pro a millionaire just for showing up. Others point to the time Arnold Palmer started wearing contact lenses and a hearing aid.

But historians generally agree it occurred in the fall of 1985 in England on the last green of a four-ball match.

Craig Stadler stood over an 18-inch (46-centimeter) putt that would have given the United States the lead midway through the Ryder Cup match, and he missed.

As so often happens in golf, a missed short putt spread its rot throughout the game.

The American professionals were so demoralized by Stadler's gaffe that they went on to lose the Ryder Cup for the first time in 28 years.

Then they lost it again in 1987 for an important double reason: America had never before lost consecutive Ryder Cups and had never been defeated on home turf at all.

As the United States returns to the Belfry, outside Birmingham, England, to do battle with the European team Friday through Sunday, many golfers are calling it the sport's climactic event of the decade, America's last chance to regain world dominance or, some say, respectability.

"This is the biggest golf event of the year, even bigger than the majors," said the PGA champion, Payne Stewart. "They made such a big deal out of winning the last two, it's kind of sticking in our craw."

"Boy, I'd hate to see what happens if we lose this time," said Ken Green. "There's no choice. We have to win."

The Americans have dominated the event ever since Samuel Ryder, a British seed merchant, donated a golf trophy in 1927 to promote goodwill between his country and the United States.

The record in the biennial matches stood at 18 victories, 3 defeats and 1 tie when the Britain and Ireland team was expanded to include all of Europe in 1979. Since, it has been a more competitive affair, with the Americans holding a 3-2 edge.

Throughout the 1980s, with the emergence of Seve Ballesteros of Spain, Bernhard Langer of West Germany, Sandy Lyle and Nick Faldo of Britain and Greg Norman of Australia, golf has become more international. Foreign stars replaced Americans at the top of the game.

The two major championships with the most representative fields are good indicators of the new balance of power. In the Masters, Americans won 8 of the 10 tournaments held in the 1970s, but only 5 of the 10 in the 1980s; the numbers in the British Open are identical.

But it was the Ryder Cup defeat that helped galvanize American participation in the event. Only a dozen years ago, Tom Weiskopf turned down a spot on the team, preferring instead to shoot sheep in Alaska that week. Now, players like Mark Calcavecchia and Paul Azinger plan their year around making the team.

While American interest still trails European excitement, more fans are interested about the result than ever before. "It's like the America's Cup," said Stewart. "Nobody cared about it until we lost it."

"I think it's great that it's turned out that way," said Tom Watson. "Winning used to be a foregone conclusion for us, and an attitude of defeatism for the other side. Now there's a lot of blood running through it."

In fact, the Ryder Cup is the purest form of top-flight golf played all year. It's golf the way it used to be: a bunch of rich guys getting together to compete for honor and country with no prize money at stake.

The contestants play the old-fashioned game of match play, the original head-to-head form of golf scored by holes instead of strokes. The pros are even barred from having logos on their shirts and golf bags. They have to wear uniforms; even Stewart must forsake his National Football League knicker.

Earlier this year, the London bookmakers installed the European team as a 1-2 favorite. For the first time in half a century America was the underdog. But after Curtis Strange won the U.S. Open and Calcavecchia took the British Open, the bookies made the Americans 4-7 favorites.

America's prospects looked even better when the captain, Raymond Floyd, announced his two wildcard choices: Watson, a five-time British Open champion, and Lanny Wadkins, probably the most feared golfer in the world at match play and the man who struck the winning wedge shot on the last hole of the 1983 Ryder Cup.

Europe suffered a setback when Lyle, a former British Open and Masters champion, declined a wildcard berth because of a protracted slump. Captain Tony Jacklin had to be disappointed, knowing that Europe could not possibly have 12

better players than Sandy Lyle, even if he was off form.

Some experts have argued that the Bradenton course at the Belfry, a mediocre but long parkland course, favors the Americans. Others contend that the format favors the British: 8 four-ball matches (commonly known as better-ball in America), 8 foursomes matches (alternate shot) and 12 singles matches.

The American team will include some Ryder Cup rookies: Azinger, Fred Couples, Chip Beck, Mark McCumber and Green. The veterans are Watson (who has a 9-3-0 Ryder Cup record), Wadkins (13-7-

1), Calcavecchia (11-1-0), Tom Kite (11-6-3), Mark O'Meara (1-2-0), Stewart (2-2-0) and Strange (5-6-1).

The Europeans will be represented by one rookie, Ronan Rafferty of Northern Ireland; Ballesteros (10-7-3), José-Maria Canizares (4-3-2), and José-Maria Olazabal (3-2-0) of Spain; Gordoo Brand Jr. (1-2-1) and Sam Torrance (3-8-4) of Scotland; Nick Faldo (14-7-1), Mark James (2-7-1) and Howard Clark (4-4-1) of England; Ian Woosnam (5-5-2) of Wales; Langer (10-5-4) of West Germany, and Christy O'Connor Jr. (0-2-0) of Ireland.

The two credited with turning the Europeans into contenders are Ballesteros, who proved the Americans weren't invincible with his victories in five major championships, and Jacklin, who instilled a positive self-image with his captaincy of the last three Ryder Cup teams.

Jacklin's contribution has consisted of more than pep talks. Unlike previous British captains who thought of their job as leading the Light Brigade into the valley of death, Jacklin insisted that the Europeans be treated like winners if they were expected to win.

As a condition of play, he upgraded all travel arrangements to first-class, booked Cooorcorde flights, put his team only in five-star hotels and ordered the highest quality uniforms and equipment.

"We were half-beaten before we started," Jacklin said. "Apart from not being as good as they were, we didn't do anything before the match to boost morale and the mental side."

Perhaps the best show of American bravado was in the opening ceremonies at the 1987 Ryder Cup matches in Houston.

Dai Rees, the captain of the visiting team, introduced his players with a long recital of their unimpressive achievements.

When it was all mercifully over, Ben Hogan, the American captain, stood up and said crisply: "Ladies and gentlemen, I present the American team: the 10 greatest golfers in the world."

Even when the British should have won, they found a way to lose. Harry Weetman of Britain in a 1959 match simply had to make a safe par 5 on the last hole, because Sam Snead had gone for the green in 2 and put his ball in the water.

Weetman then also went for the green, hit his ball into the water, lost the hole and bailed the match. "I thought it would have been nicer to win, 2 up," he said.

The matches have been remarkably free of controversy and jingoism over the years. Typical of the Ryder Cup tradition was the sportsmanship shown by Jack Nicklaus in his 1969 match against Jacklin.

On the last day, with the tied and their singles match the last on the course, Jacklin holed a 55-foot (17-meter) eagle putt to draw even. On the 18th green, Nicklaus made a 4-footer for a par, then conceded Jacklin his tying 2-footer.

"I don't think you'd have missed that, Tony, but I'm not going to give you the chance," he said. The concession sealed the only tie in Ryder Cup history.

Demonstrating that times have changed, this year's American players, to a man, said they would not give a tying putt if the Nicklaus-Jacklin circumstance were repeated.

Several Europeans, including Ballesteros, said they would concede a similar putt, but they could afford to be more generous because a tie allows the holders to retain the cup.

Nicklaus said that he would still concede the putt "because it's the right thing to do."

Informed that his fellow Americans didn't agree, he replied, "They maybe they're not thinking properly." Or maybe that's why Nicklaus isn't on this year's team.



A CRITICAL SPILL—Erik Gunderson of Denmark, a former world speedway champion, remained in critical condition Monday following his four-bike ploop at the World Speedway Cup in Bradford, England. Sweden's Jimmy Nielsen received a hip injury Sunday, England's Simon Cross suffered head injuries and American Lance King had neck injuries and concussion. England ended Denmark's six-year reign as the world team champion in the four-nation event.



In the tradition: Jack Nicklaus, left, conceded a two-foot putt to Tony Jacklin, right, on the last hole in 1969 for the only tie since the Ryder Cup matches began in 1927.



Veterans two: Tom Watson, left, a five-time British Open champion, will be playing for the Americans while Nick Faldo, right, has a 14-7-1 record for Europe.



CHESS

By Robert Byrne

THE winners, Vassily Ivanchuk and Lev Polugayevsky, played solidly, close to the vest, and fully deserved their 9-5 scores. Nick de Firmian said after his return from the Schweizerische Kreditanstalt International Grandmaster Tournament, which ran from July 18 to Aug. 6 in Biel, Switzerland.

The two Soviet players had started slowly in the elite, double-round event, but they caught fire in the eighth round and from then on pulled away. De Firmian continued: "This was my worst tournament of the year. Overall, I was not so much impressed by Ivanchuk's middle game and end-game, but he was so strong in the openings, he could coast along afterward."

In the ninth round, Ivanchuk plied his skill at the California's expense. The typical unbalanced pawn position of the Benoni Defense is visible after 7 e4: White will aim to mobilize his kingside pawns majority with a timely breakthrough with e5; Black will try to achieve v5 to set his queenside majority into motion.

In recent years, White has preferred 11 a4, followed by 12 Ra3 and 13 Qc2, but Ivanchuk varied with the low-profile 11 Re1. After 11...Ne5, he could not proceed aggressively with 12 f4? because 12...Ned4 13 Nf1 Ne4! 14 Bg4 Nc3 15 Re8 Qe8 16 Bc4 Bg4 Bc3 18 Rb1 Bb4 19 Kh1 Qe4 20 Rb7 Qd4 21 Qf3 Qc1 is strong for Black.

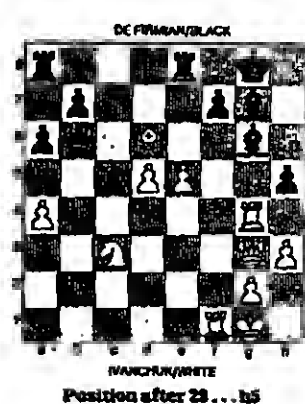
When Ivanchuk's 13 h3 finally did presage 14 f4, de Firmian stopped it by the radical 13...g5!, which has become popular in recent years despite its loosening of the black king position. The Ivanchuk revealed the usefulness of 11 Re1: he could now strongly reposition his d2 knight by 14 Nf1 and 15 Ne3.

The Russian did not mind parting with a bishop by 17 Ne4 Nd3 18 Qd3—given the pawn position, it was his least useful piece. On 18...Nd7, he did not fall for 19 Nd6? Ne5 but proceeded to exploit the frail black kingside by 20 f4.

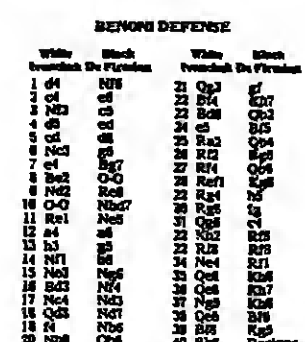
Had de Firmian, after 22 Bf4, chosen 22...Qb2, there could have come 23 e5! Re5! (23...d4 24 Bf6) 24 Re5! Qa1 25 Kf2 Bg4 (25...d4 26 Bc7 Kf8 27 Qg7 Ke8 28 Ne4 Qf1 29 Qb6 Kf7 30 Nf6 is fatal) 26 Re3 Bf7 27 Bf6 Bg6 28 Bg7 Kf8 29 Qd6 with solid superiority for White.

The American's deferred capture 22...Kh7 23 Bb6 Qb2, did not get him out of trouble. On 28 Re1, de Firmian could not improve his king's defense by 28...Rg8 because 29 Rf7! Bf7 30 Rf7 Kf8 31 Kf2 Qb3 32 Be7 b5 33 Rg7! Rg7 34 Bf6 Rg8 35 Qg6! denies any defense to 36 Qb6 mate.

After 28...Rg8, Ivanchuk's 29 Re4! threatened to smash through with 30 Rf7! When de Firmian desperately tried 30...h5, the exchange sacrifice came from another quarter—31 Rg6! f6 32 Qg6, threatening 33 Rf7. Ivanchuk found a line solution to the counterattack, 34 Rf1, namely 35 Qe6 Kh8 36 Qe8 Kh7 37 Ng5 Kh6 38 Qe6! Bf6 (38...Kg5 permits 39 Be7, winning the queen) 39 Bf8 Kg5 40



Bh6! Since 40...Kh4 allows 41 g3 mate, and 40...Kh6 41 Qb6 will drop both queen and bishop, de Firmian gave up.



BOOKS

BERNARD SHAW VOLUME II, 1898-1914: The Pursuit of Power

By Michael Holroyd. 416 pages. \$24.95. Random House, 201 East 50th Street, New York, N. Y. 10022.

Reviewed by Richard Eder

NO great figure in modern English literature has exercised a more persistently sunny mind than George Bernard Shaw. By sunny I do not mean the contents of his work. He was a mordant though very funny social critic and satirist, and there is a note of real despair in his two late and greatest plays, "Heartbreak House" and "St. Joan."

Sunshine refers to his unquenchable life spirits in writing, the seeming lack of the slightest tear in his jaunty assurance. He was, of course, the master of the rector, though perhaps his truest rector was to go on writing plays. But here, in the second volume of his detailed and fiery biography, Michael Holroyd gives us Shaw's most clever and deepest answer.

"If I had gone to the hills nearby to look upon Dublin and to ponder upon myself, I too might have become a poet like Yeats, Synge and the rest of them. But I prided myself on thinking clearly, and therefore couldn't stay. Whenever I took a problem or a state of life of which my Irish contemporaries sang sad songs, I always pushed it to its logical conclusion, and then inevitably it resolved itself into comedy."

Holroyd's second volume takes Shaw up at the turn-of-the-century while he was still awaiting a consistent theatrical success. It was not until they saw the plays on stage that such contemporaries as Yeats and Max Beerbohm were able to recognize, despite their reservations, Shaw's genius. What on the page seemed wordy and argumentative, took on powerful life once it found actors to speak through. Shaw's ideas are characters and supremely playable.

In the 17 years the book covers—one might call it Shaw's maturity, though his two masterpieces are still ahead—Holroyd weaves in and out of the writer's theater world, his political activities, his journalism, his desperately irritable life with his wife Charlotte, and a host of other subjects. He is exhaustive. There are times when the reader may suspect that Holroyd is proposing to moonlight a history of the Fabian movement and tuck it into his Shaw biography. But too much that is valuable is woven in to make this a very serious complaint.

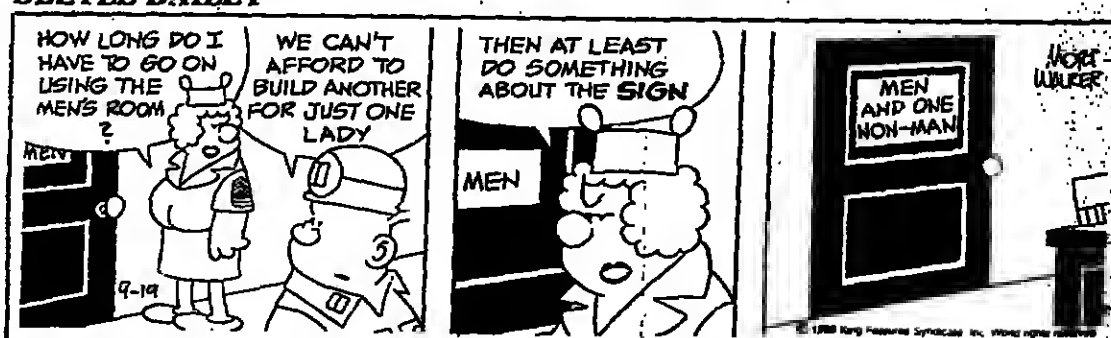
He gives full measure to the courage and independence Shaw showed in fighting the jingoism of World War I. He was reviled, ostracized and snubbed. By the time the war was over, it was beginning to be recognized that he had been saying something out only very present, but very serious as well. The useless blood shed by millions gave substance to his paradoxes; perhaps it gave life to the deeper visions of "Heartbreak House" and "St. Joan."

Richard Eder is on the staff of the Los Angeles Times.

PEANUTS



BEETLE BAILEY



ANDY CAPP



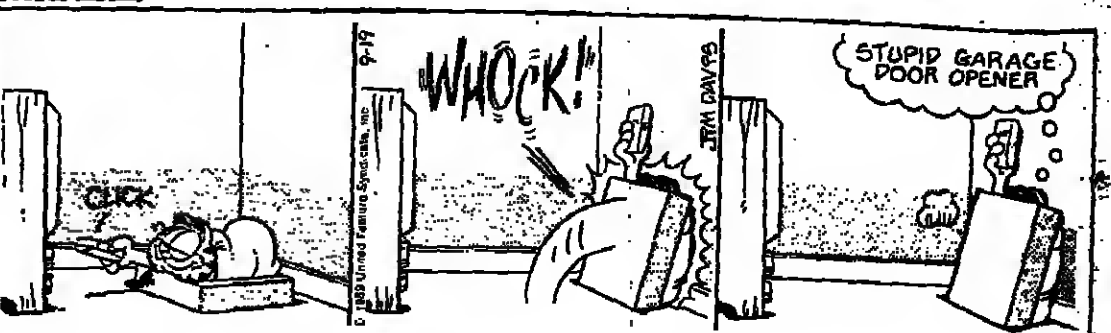
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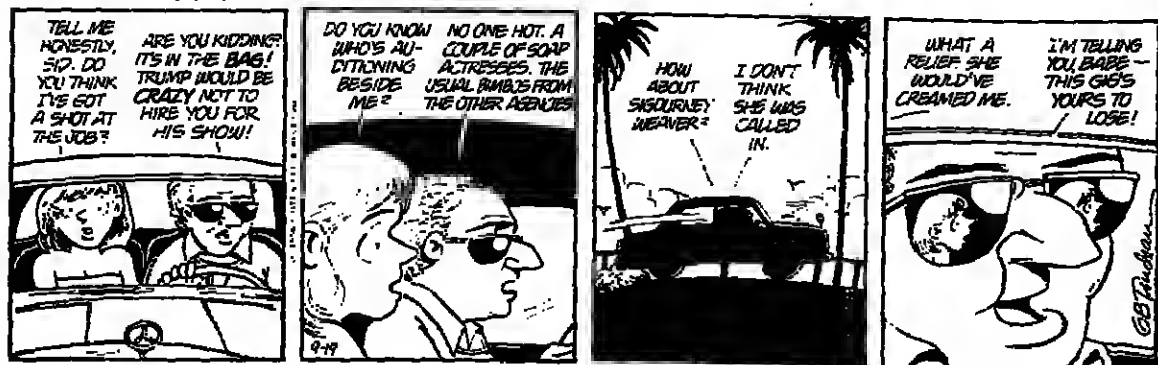
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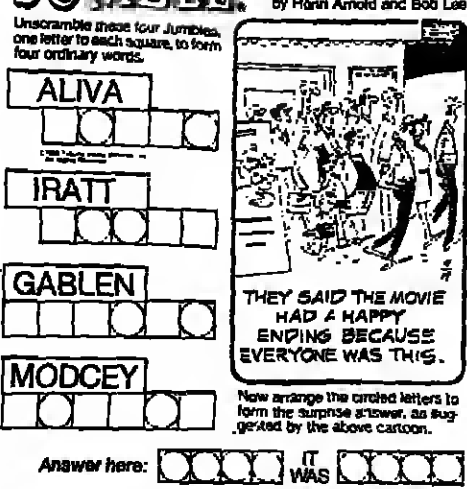
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JUMBLE



Yesterday's Jumble: AGENT SCOUT WINTRY HAWKER
Answer: Money can be lost in more ways than "WON"

"WATCH OUT, MARTHA! 'THE LOOSE CANNON' HAS GOTTEN LOOSE!"

The Summer That Was

Vice President Dan Quayle has not been seen lately. Rumor has it that the Secret Service is moving him around from golf course to

No new word oo Michael Milken, Ivan Boesky, Salman Rushdie, Felix Bloch, Elvis Presley or the Exxon people who vowed to clean up the beaches of Alaska. This really hurts, as they all promised to get back to me.

Joan Quigley: The Reagan Chart

In May 1987, when she was looking for a publisher for a new book, Quigley said, she told Mrs. Reagan that "it would help me a lot



President Reagan's visit to a German war cemetery where SS soldiers were buried, "but I won't go into it because I go into it in the

launched last year, Joan Quigley invented the "Audioscope," she said, after the Regan revelations brought her "bags of mail from all over the world" and she needed a way to

PEOPLE

Winners of Japan Prize

and Remembrance," a portrayal of the Holocaust, captured the Emmy for best miniseries, a final triumph

Michael Jackson made \$125 million in 1988 and '89, according to *Fortune* magazine, which issued a list of the world's 40 highest-paid entertainers and their estimated net worth for the two years. Second in the list was Steve Spielberg, the filmmaker (\$105 million), followed in the top five by Bill Cosby, the television star (\$95 million); Mike Tyson, heavyweight boxing champion (\$71 million); and Charles M. Schulz, Peanuts cartoonist (\$60 million). No. 28 was Frank Sinatra (\$26 million) and the top woman on the list was Oprah Winfrey, the talk show star (ninth at \$55 million).

The London theatre impresario Cameron Mackintosh has signed to produce a string of new programs to "Miss Saigon," produced by himself. Stoll Moss Theatres Inc. announced Monday that the producer had promised to stop giving away cast lists at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, where the new Andrew Lloyd Webber musical is in previews. "Miss Saigon," which has already sold \$5 million (\$7.75 million) worth of tickets, promises Wednesday, Mackintosh decided that £1.20 for a program was not much, so he and 10 of his employees handed out free cast lists last week. Mackintosh said the protest followed weeks of arguments with the Stoll Moss Group, owners of 13 theaters in London's West End. Last week, Stoll Moss's managing director, Roger Ffley, said the first protest was "only a little squeak at the moment, but he really is going to carry on I think we may have to

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